
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

ANNUAL REPORT

1906-7.

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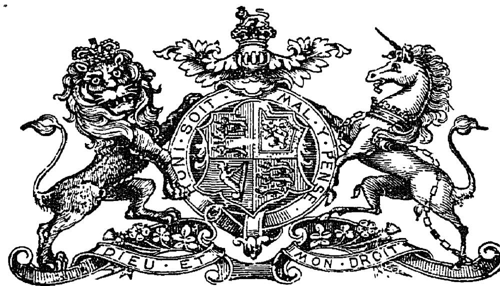
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1909

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CONSERVATION.

AMID the multitude of conservation works that come under review year by year in these Reports it is not unnatural, perhaps, that the attention of the reader should be directed rather to the few monuments that have undergone conspicuous improvements than to the much larger number that have been saved from decay by simple and insignificant measures. The disproportionate emphasis, however, which thus comes to be laid on works of restoration, is not a little unfortunate, as it is apt to create a false impression as to the attitude of Government towards such undertakings, and a fear, too, that it may not be fully alive to the dangers attendant on them. Nay more, it may even appear to those who are unfamiliar with Indian monuments and ignorant of the circumstances attending each particular case, that the general policy of Government is lacking in consistency. In order to remove any such erroneous impression, I propose to take the present opportunity of explaining as shortly as I can what are the guiding principles of action followed by the Archæological Department and to illustrate my explanation by some concrete examples.

There has been waging for more than thirty years a heated discussion, which is still going on in Europe, on the merits and demerits of "restoration"—a term which is used by antiquarians to imply the putting back or reproduction of what has fallen or been lost. The *pros* and *cons* of the case are briefly and lucidly set forth in Prof. Baldwin Brown's book on *The Care of Ancient Monuments*,[1] and it would be superfluous for me to recapitulate them here. Suffice it to say that in England public opinion is now gradually becoming opposed to the restoration of ancient monuments merely for restoration's sake; and there is no doubt that the movement of the anti-restorationists, which started with Ruskin, William Morris and others more than thirty years ago, and which has since been kept vigorously alive by the *Society for the Protection of Ancient Monuments*, has done much to preserve the beauties and romantic charm of many of our most cherished buildings. With the general principles underlying this movement the Archæological Department in India is in close sympathy; but its sympathy cannot extend to unreserved acquiescence in the whole of the strict and rigid manifesto issued by the Society referred to, in 1877; nor can it go to the same lengths as the Society in indiscriminately condemning every case of

[1] Pp. 46—56.

restoration. The attitude of the Department, in fact, coincides very closely with that of the moderate thinkers at home, who fully recognise the deplorable harm that can be done in the name of restoration, but recognise also that there may be religious, social, political or other considerations to be taken into account, which render it impracticable to lay down one law, which will be applicable to one and every case.

In the penultimate paragraph of their manifesto the Society plead "to put Protection in the place of Restoration, to stave off decay by daily care, to prop a perilous wall or mend a leaky roof by such means as are obviously meant for support or covering, and show no pretence of other art, and otherwise to resist all tampering with either the fabric or ornament of the building as it stands; if it has become inconvenient for its present use, to raise another building rather than alter or enlarge the old one; in fine, to treat our ancient buildings as monuments of a bygone art, created by bygone manners, that modern art cannot meddle with without destroying."

Now, let us suppose that this method of dealing with structures had been applied throughout to the most famous and perhaps the most extensively restored of our Indian monuments—the Tāj Maḥal at Agra. What would have been the state of that priceless tomb to-day? It would have been a ruin, stripped of half its marbles, tied together with bands, propped up with buttresses or scaffoldings, and disfigured by other accretions and eyesores. Instead of that, the counsel of perfection which has prevailed in its restoration, has given back to India a gem of unblemished beauty, perfect in itself and perfect in all its surroundings. I cannot think that even the staunchest opponent of restoration, if he viewed the Tāj as it is to-day, could wish it back in its old state of dilapidation, or could regret for one instant that the charm that lingered round it in its decay has been replaced by the more abundant loveliness of life. But apart from æsthetic sentiment, which can hardly fail to endorse all that has been done for the Tāj, there were other very potent reasons which demanded its restoration. For the Tāj is not a "dead" monument. It is still the resting place of the Great Mug͟hal Emperor and Empress, for whom it was erected, and as such it deserves to be maintained in all its original splendour. Nor does it appeal to the Indian people as an antiquarian relic. It is to them a national heritage, of which they are justly proud, and which they have a right to expect will be preserved to posterity as something more than an interesting ruin. Indeed, I think I may truly say that there is no archæological work in India that has given more profound gratification to the people than the rescue of this cherished mausoleum from neglect, and the effacement from it of all signs of the vandalism committed by earlier generations of Englishmen.

The same argument applies also to the restoration of the *pietra dura* mosaics in the back of S͟hāh Jahān's throne at Delhi, many of which were carried off by the British during the mutiny. But in this case there was an additional reason for the restoration of the plaques, inasmuch as the palace of the Mug͟hal Sovereigns, although it no longer does duty as a residence for the rulers of India, still serves on occasion as the noblest and most imperial setting for the highest functions of State, and for this reason alone, if for no other, could not be left in a state of semi-ruin.

Again, if we consider the climatic conditions of India, the remoteness and inaccessibility of many of our monuments, and the difficulties that have to be faced by the Public Works Department in their repair, it must be acknowledged that the policy advocated by the Society of staving off decay by daily care, of propping up here or buttressing there, as occasion may arise, is unfeasible. Many a valuable monument hidden away in the jungles can only be visited once a year, or perhaps even more rarely, and in the meantime it is subjected to the ravages of a tropical climate with all its exuberant and nocuous growths, or perhaps to the still more destructive ravages of man. In such cases, the measures taken must be thorough and lasting; though I need hardly say that no pains ought to be spared (nor in this country are they spared) to interfere as little as possible with the original fabric or ornament of a building. Saracenic structures, in particular, as I pointed out in a previous report, defy the application of the simple methods advocated by Ruskin. For, when once their domes or arches have become cracked, and heavy masses of brickwork displaced, nothing short of the most radical treatment will avail to secure their permanent safety; nor will mere surface patchwork suffice to arrest decay which has penetrated to the core of their rubble walls.

With such reservations as I have indicated above, demanded either by the peculiar climatic or other conditions prevailing in India, the policy pursued by the Archæological Department is that favoured by the anti-restorationists; and, in conformity with this policy, a small manual, emphasising the real aims of conservation work, and explaining the methods to be pursued in carrying it out, has been widely circulated during the past year throughout India and Burma. The generalisations contained in this manual are based partly on the advice given by the Society for the Protection of Ancient Monuments, partly on that of the Royal Institute of British Architects; but the more specific instructions are mainly the outcome of practical notes which I have made from time to time in the course of my inspection tours, amplified by various suggestions from a pamphlet issued many years ago by the Madras Government. That this manual is likely to prove of some service, has already been demonstrated by the use that has been made of it in Native States, and by private owners or trustees of monuments over which Government exercises no control. It is hoped, also, that it will be found no less helpful to the Public Works Department, and, particularly, to the Indian members of it, who so often find themselves in charge of archæological work, and upon whose sympathy for what they are doing, the success or failure of it depends.

Let me turn, however, from this explanation of the principles on which we are working to review briefly the main achievements of the past year.

In the United Provinces, a most admirable piece of work has been done by the Public Works Department in the conservation of several important monuments at Jaunpur, which have now been systematically overhauled and taken in hand for the first time. As regards these repairs, I cannot do better than quote the account of them which Mr. Nicholls gives in his Provincial Report. "Nowhere in this circle," he writes, "has conservation work been carried out with more careful attention to the advice given, and with more evidence of constant supervision than in the important mosques of Jaunpur. The Executive Engineer at Benares was ably seconded in this work by

Mr. Clarke, the Assistant Engineer, who was resident in Jaunpur. Part of the work was of a difficult nature ; for instance, the substitution of new stone lintels in the heavy ceilings of the mezzanine floor in the prayer chamber of the Jāmi' Masjid. In the Lāl Darwāza Masjid extensive structural repairs have been carried out in the colonnades round the courtyard. These were seriously decayed, and parts had already fallen. Some repairs had been carried out several years ago, and the bricks of British pattern which were then inserted, and which frowned upon the courtyard from the parapet of the colonnade, have now been replaced by bricks of an old pattern. Much of the sandstone facing on the outer wall of the courtyard has also been replaced, to protect the wall, and the former existence of the outer colonnade, of which there is unmistakeable evidence, has been placed on record by rebuilding one bay on each side of the main gateway. But the great triumph of the year's work has been the removal of the whitewash in the Atala Masjid. This was rendered all the more difficult and tedious by the intricate patterns carved on the stone work. Mr. Clarke himself took part in this work, since, if the acid, which is used for dissolving the whitewash, is not washed off at the right moment, it eats into the stone underneath. Those who remember the mosque as it was a year ago, would hardly recognise it now. Imposing it has always been, but now the prayer chamber has been completely transformed by the exposure of its delicate carved ornament and the coloured scheme, which is admirably carried out by the selection of different shades of stone, varying from yellow to red and dark grey, for the different architectural features ".

At Agra, the transformation of the colonnaded court in front of the main gate of the Tāj Maḥal is now almost complete, two more colonnades having been rebuilt during the year: namely, one on the north, and one on the west side, of the second Sahelī Burj. The garden, too, of the same Sahelī Burj has been excavated and laid out again on its old plan, with its waterfalls, channels, causeways and parterres complete, just as was done two years previously in the case of the corresponding tomb on the other side of the quadrangle. Yet another striking improvement in this quadrangle has been the reconstruction of the low balustrade, which borders the broad platform in front of the eastern gate of the Tāj, and the reduction of the steps leading up to the platform to their original dimensions. Both steps and balustrade are delineated in a drawing of the Daniell brothers, made in the last decade of the 18th century, while the old *mutakkā* holes, which existed in the floor of the platform, furnished an accurate guide to the width of the steps and panels of the balustrade.

In the Agra Fort, the appearance of the Jahāngīrī Maḥal has been much improved by the repair of the marble lotus buds and other features on its western façade, and all disfigurement has been effaced from the Hall of Public Audience by completing the restoration of the polished white plaster and gilded decoration on its columns. But the chief and by far the most difficult operation in the Fort, has been the structural repair of the great Delhi Gate, the condition of which has been going rapidly from bad to worse in recent years. This gate—which is also known as the Hathyā Paul, from the two elephant statues which stood on each side of the entrance —is one of the most massive and imposing edifices of its kind in India, second only, indeed, in size to the Baland Darwāza at Fatḥpur Sīkrī, and in some respects surpassing it in beauty, especially in the singularly pleasing proportions of its inner

face, in its deeply shadowing cornice and in the fine appreciation displayed for the value of plain surfaces. The gateway is of two stories, and is flanked by massive octagonal bastions, crowned with small domed pavilions. The entrance is through a fine vaulted chamber, octagonal in plan, with a raised dais and alcoves for the guard on either side. The rest of the ground floor is occupied by roomy chambers now used for the garrison churches; while on the upper storey is an open terrace with a pillared gallery facing the east, and several smaller chambers behind. The whole is of red sandstone lavishly carved and decorated with designs of inlaid marble and enamelled tiling. Many of the original designs were of animals or birds, but these have been either broken or concealed beneath a layer of plaster, perhaps by order of the Emperor Aurangzeb; and it will be a feature of the repairs that have now been taken in hand to expose to view again all that are sufficiently well preserved not to detract from the beauty of the structure. But the most pressing need has been to secure the structural stability of this vast fabric. The part where the danger was most threatening was on the east side, and particularly in the upper storey, where many of the brackets carrying the balcony had decayed, leaving the superstructure above insecure. None of the old carved stones, it may be mentioned, are being taken out on the ground of superficial decay, but only if they are positively too rotten to be left where they are in safety.

In the Punjab, the work done among the Mug̲h̲al monuments at Lahore is peculiarly edifying, as there were several more than usually difficult problems to be faced, and in every case the Public Works Department has surmounted them with success. One of these problems was presented by the Naulakhā Pavilion, the foundations of which had subsided, causing the building to crack and lean dangerously outwards over the edge of the Fort wall. The weight of the west wall of the pavilion, which was resting mainly on a perforated marble screen, has now been transferred to iron rails imbedded in its masonry, while the screen itself has been taken out and reset—the whole being so cleverly done that it would, as Mr. Nicholls states, be difficult to detect any change, except for the fact that the cracks in the pavilion are no longer gaping open. Another difficulty to which I have referred in a previous Report and which has been equally well surmounted, has been the repair of the ugly rent in the S̲h̲īs̲h̲ Maḥal ceiling. There, as well as in the Hazūrī Bāg̲h̲ Pavilion, where mirror decoration is also used, the new work has been most skilfully treated, so as not to clash with the old, and the result leaves nothing to be desired.

The restoration of the vaulted roof over the tomb of the Emperor Jahāngīr at S̲h̲āhdara is the subject of a separate contribution to this Report, and there is nothing that I need say about it; but I cannot pass by this famous mausoleum without noticing the improvements that have been effected in its garden and in the spacious quadrangle of the Akbarī Sarāi adjoining it. The latter has been completely cleared of the heaps of refuse that used to disfigure it, and a wide expanse of green lawn has been laid down in their place, with shade-giving trees dotted here and there upon it. The Sarāi buildings, too, have been patched up, wherever it was necessary for their safety; and it is intended to conceal the new patches with innocuous creepers. At the same time, the approach to the Emperor's tomb has been diverted, so that it will now lead through the main gateway on the south side of the Sarāi, which was the

original entrance in approaching the garden. For the time being, funds permit only of the western half of the garden being taken in hand; but the striking transformation that is being effected in it by the restoration of the old tanks and channels, the laying down of grass swards and the removal of unsightly trees and hedges, will no doubt eventually induce Government to treat the rest of the garden in a similar manner.

The quality of the work done at Delhi has not, in some particulars, been quite so good as at Lahore, apparently because the contractors were left too much to their own devices. Mr. Nicholls draws attention to this in connection with the laying out of the Ḥayāt Bakhsh garden, where the repaving of the stone channels was finished, before the discovery of the original fountain bases was brought to his notice. Another case in which there was some room for improvement was that of the repairs to the low terrace wall around the tomb of ʻĪsā Khān, which have not been carried out in accordance with the instructions given. Apart, however, from these defects the quality of the work at the Fort and elsewhere has been up to a good standard, while the restoration of the mosaics in the Throne of Shāh Jahān, which I described in my Report for 1902-03, surpasses anything of its kind that has ever been done in India.

Before leaving the subject of Mughal monuments in Northern India, I should like to say a few words about the celebrated gardens of Kashmir, for the restoration of which a complete and carefully thought-out scheme has been prepared during the past summer by Mr. Nicholls. The claims which these gardens have to be cared for and tended by the State need no emphasis; for there are no other gardens, perhaps, in all Asia, round which history and legend have woven so much romance, which nature and man have combined to make so lovely, and which could be restored to their former perfection at such little expense. The gardens of the Tāj at Agra, of Shālimār or of Shāhdara are beautiful of their kind, and may with proper care be made more beautiful still; but they can never hope to rival their sisters in Kashmir, because they lack entirely the majestic surroundings of mountain, pine forest and snow field, in which the latter are set; and because no flowers or grass or trees can ever attain the same perfection in the plains of India as they can in the highlands of Kashmir. That the present rulers of Kashmir should be induced to lavish on these gardens the care which they received under the Mughal Emperors, is not, perhaps, to be expected; for the love of such things is not inherent in them, as it was in Baber and his successors. For this reason, Mr. Nicholls' scheme aims at laying out the gardens on simple and bold lines, though in strict conformity with Mughal taste. He rightly deprecates the planting of innumerable little flower beds, such as the modern Indian gardener loves; and he deprecates also the planting of thickly set fruit or other trees. In place of these, his scheme provides for stately avenues of chenars and cypresses and yews; for wide expanses of lawn and for bright stretches of colour flanking the waterways. As to the pavilions and other buildings in the gardens, his idea is to do only such repairs as are essential for their safety or to prevent them detracting from the beauty of their surroundings. What is needed more than the repair or restoration of the old work, is the demolition of the many modern accretions that offend the eye so sorely and destroy the old-world charm of these gardens. One of the most conspicuous of these is the gatehouse of the

Shālimār Bāgh, as one approaches it from the Dal Lake. What sort of structure originally existed at this point, there is no evidence to show; but since a gatehouse is needed, it is manifestly preferable to have some simple erection in keeping with the rest of the garden than the present dismal-looking building. The modern ugly wall which juts out from the gatehouse across the channel, I have advised the Darbar not to rebuild in any form, when it has once been dismantled, notwithstanding that for *pardah* purposes some sort of wall or screen must once have existed in this position. My reason for offering this advice is a strong one. On the one hand, there is nothing to be gained by such a restoration for mere restoration's sake; on the other, there is much to be lost by screening off from view the magnificent vista down the long avenue of stately chenars that stretch to the Dal Lake. In place of the wall, I have proposed that an inoffensive chain should be drawn across the water channel, so as to prevent cattle straying into the gardens.

How far the Kashmir Darbar will find itself able to carry out Mr. Nicholls' scheme, remains to be seen. Up to the present, in spite of the creation of a State Archæological Department in 1902, nothing has been done for the Moslem monuments of the State and next to nothing for the Hindu. The majority of the latter are in the familiar " Kashmir " style, which has attracted more attention, perhaps, from European travellers than any other class of Indian architecture, owing, no doubt, to its close affinities with the classical Doric order. But there are a number of other temples in the State of a different type, which merit attention no less than the better known ones. Among these, may be mentioned a group of seven temples at Babor, the ancient Babbapura of the Rājataraṅgiṇī, situate some 17 miles east of Jammu. These temples, which appear to combine the Indo-Aryan with the Kashmir style, are all in a more or less advanced state of decay, though not so advanced as to have lost their archæological value or to defy preservation. Nothing is needed for their protection beyond the careful clearance of débris and a few other simple remedies, on which the Darbar has been fully advised. It is sincerely to be hoped that these will not be indefinitely postponed.

I must not, however, dwell longer on works that are only in their inception, while so many that have been completed remain to be noticed. Both in Bengal proper and in Eastern Bengal and Assam the progress made during the year has been exceptionally good. As to the last named district, there is a special article in this Report from the pen of Dr. Bloch, which deals with the strange groups of monuments at Dīmāpūr and Kāsomārī Pathar, with the ruins on the Bāmanī Hill, and with the so-called Copper Temple and other antiquities at the ancient Bhīshmaknagar. Along with these monuments must be mentioned also the temple of Hayagrīva at Hajo in the Kamrup District, which has been rescued from ruin at a more than ordinary cost.

The new Local Government of the Eastern Province, it will be seen, has fully maintained the liberal attitude of the previous administration of Assam towards archæology. But it has done more than this. It has devoted greater attention than was ever given before to the monuments in Eastern Bengal itself: to the Fort at Munshīganj, and the Lāl Bāgh Fort at Dacca; to the Ēklākhī Tomb and the Ādīna and Quṭbshāhī mosques at Panduah; to the Sonā Masjid at Firozpur; and to many

of the celebrated monuments at Gaur, including among them the Lattan and Tāntipāṛā Masjid, the Fīroz Mīnār and the Dākhil Darwāza. An account of many of these monuments and of the measures necessary for their repair appeared in my Report for 1902-03. That the campaign of operations among them has received such added impetus during the past year, is largely due, there is no doubt, to changes in the Local Administration. A few years ago there were relatively few monuments, except the most famous ones, in Bengal, to which the Local Government could devote its care, and some of those that were remote from the centre of Government at Calcutta, seemed doomed to suffer irretrievably before they could be taken in hand. With the creation, however, of a new Province and the transference to it of the important groups of buildings at Gaur and Panduah, the prospects of conservation work in the Eastern districts have rapidly brightened, while the improvement in Bengal proper has been equally marked. In the latter Province there have been some fifty monuments in all in the repairer's hands, among which are to be numbered several historic memorials of the British. The most extensive operations have been those connected with the Black Pagoda at Kōnārak, where the removal of débris from around the fallen *śikhara* has led to the discovery of a large and valuable collection of remarkably well preserved statues, that add substantially to our knowledge of Hindu sculpture. Other undertakings of importance have been the repairs of the Sat Gumbaz and the tomb of Khān Jahān 'Alī at Bagerhat,[1] of Bakhtiyār Khān's tomb at Chainpur;[2] of the Mīnār at Pandua in the Hooghly district; and of several of the temples at Bhubanēsvar.

Another Province where the past year presents a very good record is Burma. Here a sum of some Rs. 64,000 had to be devoted to the reconstruction of the spire of the Mandalay Palace, which, as I explained last year, had been found to be in the imminent danger of collapse. Besides continuing this work, the Local Government made a generous grant for the repair of other Palace buildings and monasteries at Mandalay, as well as of a number of monuments at Pagān. The photographs of some of the latter, *e.g.*, of the Seinnyet and Sapada Pagodas figured on Plate IX of this Report, afford good illustrations of what I have said above about the policy of the Archæological Department towards conservation work. The time-worn appearance of these pagodas has been most religiously respected, and every care has been taken to add nothing which was unnecessary and to take away nothing that could be saved.

A great difficulty to be faced in connection with the preservation of pagodas in Burma, arises from the fact that their management is vested in Trusts created under section 539 of the Civil Procedure Code, over which the Local Government exercises no control, and which are seldom alive to the responsibilities of their position. When I was in Burma in 1904, I urged upon Government the importance of investigating the management of these Trusts and seeing if some arrangement could be made for checking the expenditure of Trust funds. In response to my suggestion, an inquiry was held by the Archæological Superintendent into the management of twenty-five Trusts, and a full report on them submitted to Government in December 1906. He

[1] *Cf.* A. S. R., 1903-04, pp. 52-53.

[2] Bakhtiyār Khān's tomb, it may be noticed, is a copy of the tomb of Hasan Khān, the father of the famous Sher Shāh, at Sasseram. It is probable that Bakhtiyār Khān was one of the grandees of Sher Shāh, or perhaps of his son, Islām Shāh; but no reliable information exists about him.

found that, owing to the absence of efficient control, there had been malversation of funds, and that, while the preservation of the shrines had been neglected, inordinate sums had been expended on providing entertainments and showy decorations. The recommendations, however, which he made for controlling the administration of Trust funds were not accepted by the Local Government, the Lieutenant-Governor holding that "the examination of Trust funds, the erection of new buildings and the maintenance and repair of pagodas are not matters with which officers of Government should concern themselves in their official capacity, except in so far as is provided by the Ancient Monuments' Preservation Act."

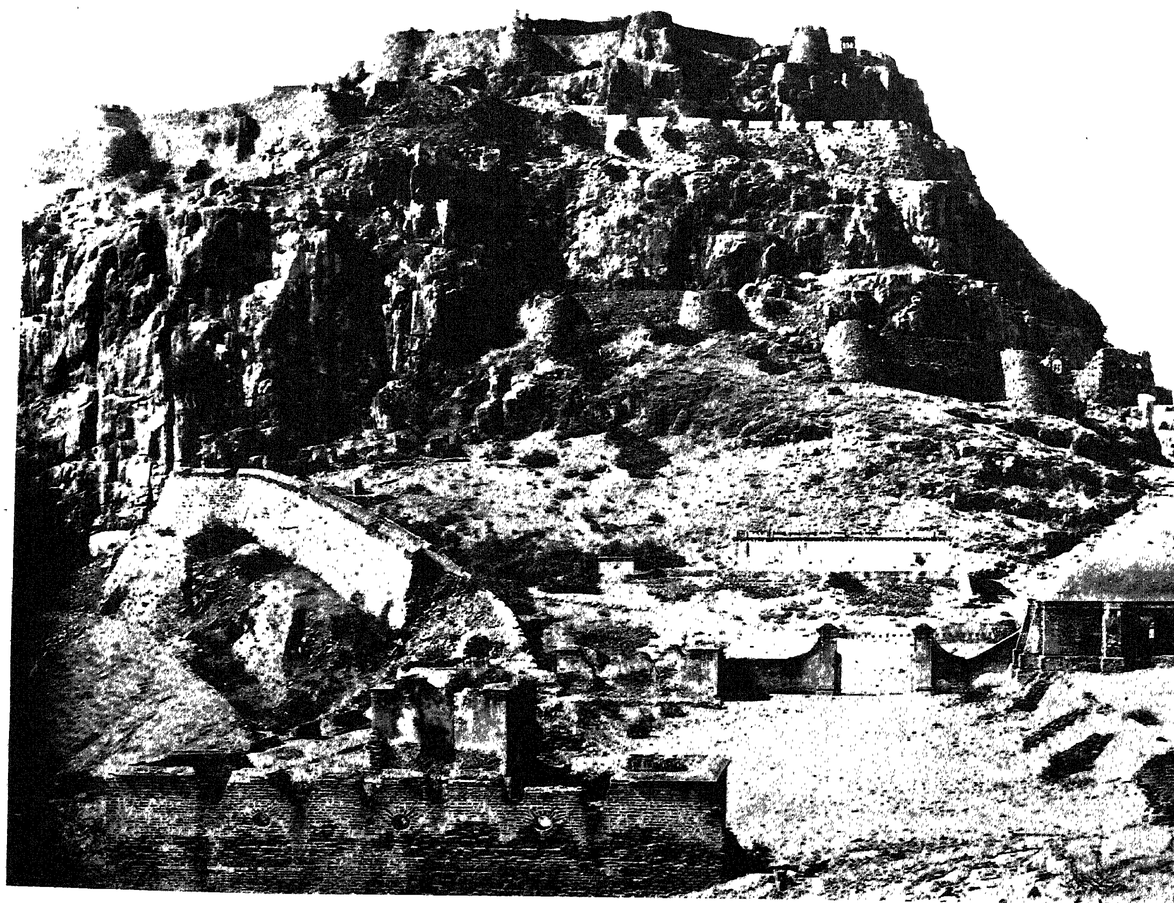
Of the year's campaign of work in the Central Provinces I need say nothing more than that it has been prosecuted vigorously and steadily by the Local Government. The same remark applies to the Bombay Presidency, where the Muhammadan monuments at Bījāpur, Sarkhej and Dholkā have continued to claim especial attention. I ought not, however, to leave this part of India without mentioning the Jaina Tower at Chitor, the reconstruction of which, described in last year's Annual, has now been brought to a most successful issue by the Udaipur Darbar. Nor should I omit to notice that steps have been taken during the year for effectively conserving the caves at Dhamnār in the Indore State, which are described and illustrated in the same Report by Mr. Cousens.

If there is little to be said of the work in Western and Central India, there is more than enough to be recorded of the Southern Presidency. I had hoped, indeed, that the achievements in this part of India would form the subject of a special article from Mr. Rea ; and had gone so far as to print off the illustrations to accompany it. But at the last moment the letterpress is not forthcoming, and in its absence I must content myself with publishing the photographs alone. The first of these (Plate I, *a*) is a view of the Fort at Gooty. The appearance of this stronghold has been remarkably improved by the cutting down of the jungle in which parts of it were enveloped, and much also has been done to safeguard the walls and bastions, partly by underpinning or rebuilding them, partly by protecting them against the rain with a coping of cement. Another important Fort which has come in for a great deal of attention is that of Gingee—as it is commonly spelt—in the South Arcot district, a place of importance as far back as the 14th century, and one which played a dominant part in the vicissitudes of the country up to the time of its final capture by the British in 1761. Mr. Rea likens the remains here to those of the more famous Vijayanagar, and notices that many of the earlier structures owe their existence to kings of the latter city. The main part of the Fortress, which contains the principal civil and military buildings, consists of three strongly fortified hills—the Rājagiri, which is shown in Plate I, *b*, the Kṛishṇagiri and the Chandayan Durgam ; but beyond the limits of these hills are many miles of defences and a multitude of other edifices, all of which it is manifestly beyond the power of Government to keep in a good state of repair. As a fact, the operations here are being strictly limited to preserving as permanently as possible the finest of the structures, and to saving the remainder from unnecessarily rapid decay. Of the Palace buildings, which have been marked out for repair, the chief one is the Kalyāṇa Mahal (Plate II, *a*), a lofty eight-storeyed structure, situated at the base of the Rājagiri

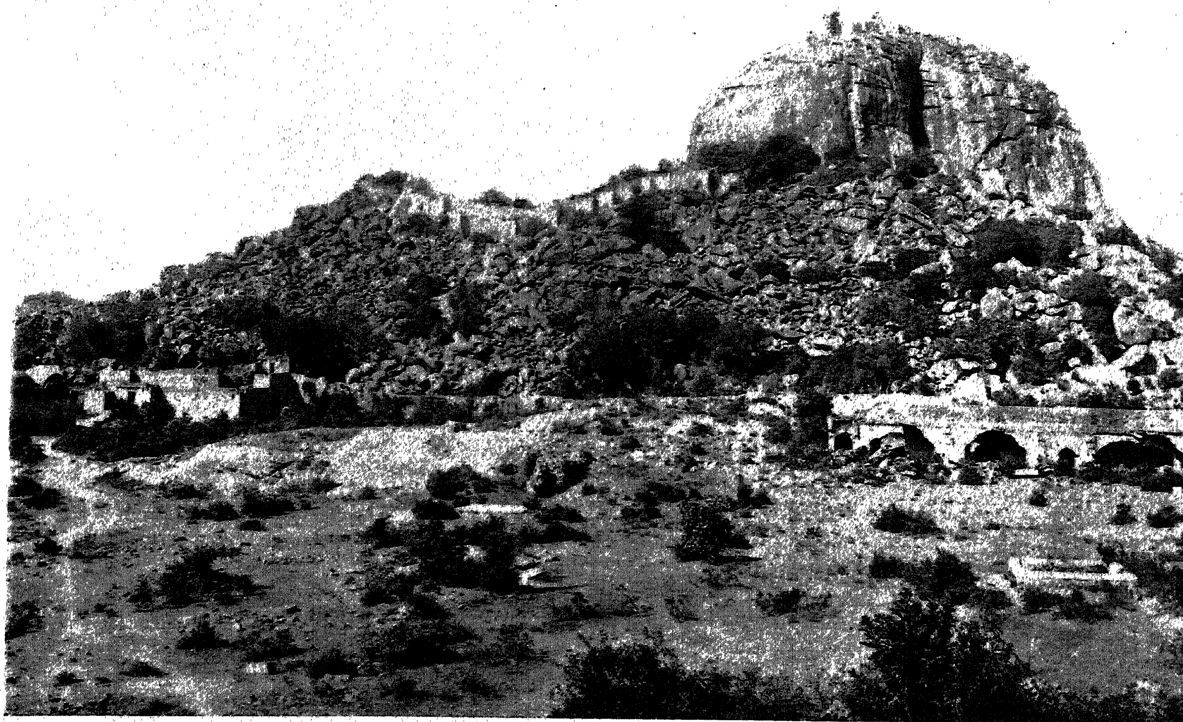
Hill. "It is surrounded," writes Mr. Rea," by a number of arcaded buildings which have been used as barracks. These have rows of arches in front, and barrel-vaulted roofs. Many of the supporting piers have gone, but the arches remain in position, and project like huge brackets, thus testifying to the soundness of the ancient mortar." All the vegetation has been removed from this building and the most urgent repairs executed; but much still remains to be done, particularly in the matter of filling gaps in the walls, substituting stone for decayed wooden lintels, and putting in relieving arches. At the Flag Staff Tower, shown on Plate III, *a*, the fallen débris on the north side is being removed, provision is being made for draining off rain water from the interior, and the retaining walls around are being brought up to their original level. The "Gymnasium Hall" illustrated on Plate II, *b*, is a type of building—a plain rectangular structure roofed with a single barrel vault—of which a number of examples are to be found at Gingee, including a so-called *gymkhana* Hall and two granaries. The gymnasium itself is in a relatively good condition, but others are much damaged, and all have suffered more or less from the uneven settlement of their foundations, which are much too superficial for the weight they bear. In some cases, wide splayed bases have been built around the exterior of the walls, and, if these had been properly looked after, it is unlikely that any damage would have happened to the walls; for they themselves are thick and massive enough. But the bases have been allowed to fall to ruin, plants have taken root in them, moisture has percolated through, and the consequent dilapidation has been followed by fractures and settlement in the walls they support. In the case of one of the granaries, indeed, the southern wall has split right away from the body of the building, and buttresses will have to be inserted to hold it up. Much also will have to be done in this as well as in other cases for getting rid of rain water, and filling in gaping cracks in the structures.

The last undertaking that I need notice in the Madras Presidency is the conservation of some of the *rathas* at Māmallapuram or the "Seven Pagodas," as it is more popularly known. "The chief work here," says Mr. Rea," and one which presented some difficulties in execution, was the resetting in position of three huge blocks of carved stone, which had fallen from the west side of the monolith known as *Bhīma's ratha*. The block from the south-west corner, which is triangular in shape, must weigh several tons. To reset it in position, three large holes were cut in the fallen block, and three more, to correspond to them, in the fractured corner of the monolith. A specially hard-grained black stone was then selected and cut into bars, which were fixed with cement into the holes in the monolith. The fallen block was then hoisted and set in position, and liquid cement forced into the cracks, while metal clamps were fitted at the edges to make the work doubly secure. The block which had fallen from the centre of the west side had no bed on which it could rest; so a pair of chisel-dressed stone piers had to be inserted and the block placed on them, the joints being cemented and metal clamped. No special difficulties occurred with the refixing of the north-west block."

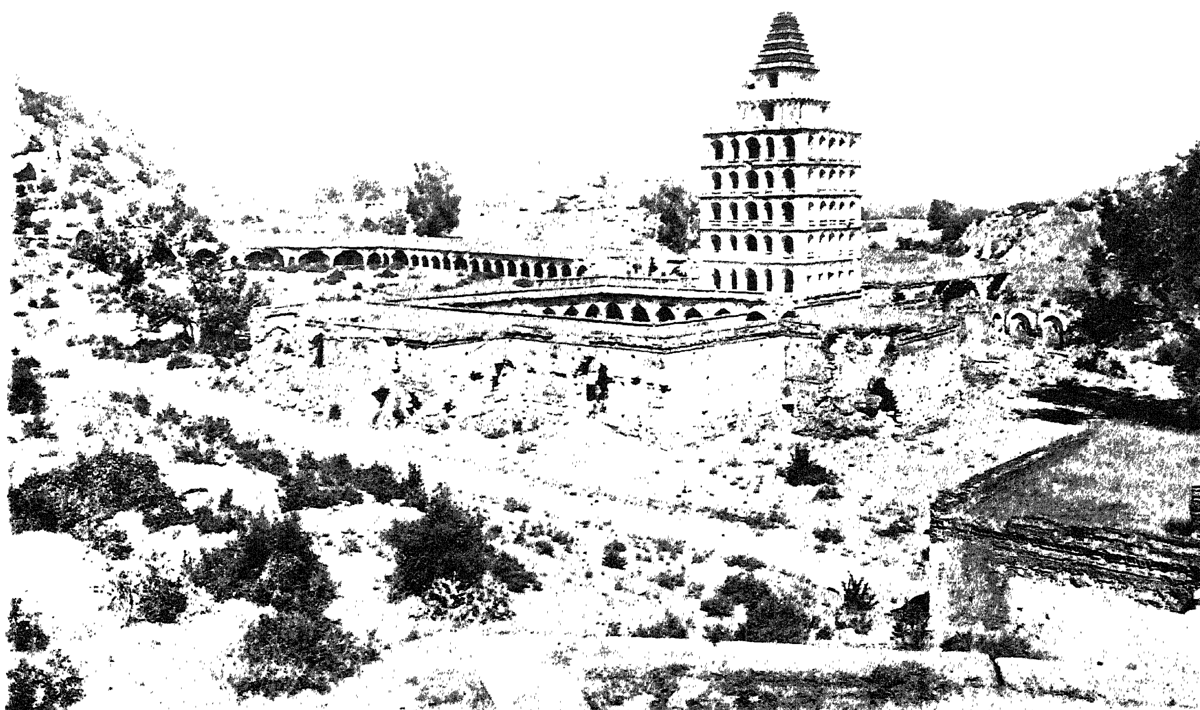
To complete the picture of what has been done during the past year, it remains for me to say something of the collection and housing of moveable antiquities. During the past twelve months the building of two new museums, one at Peshawar



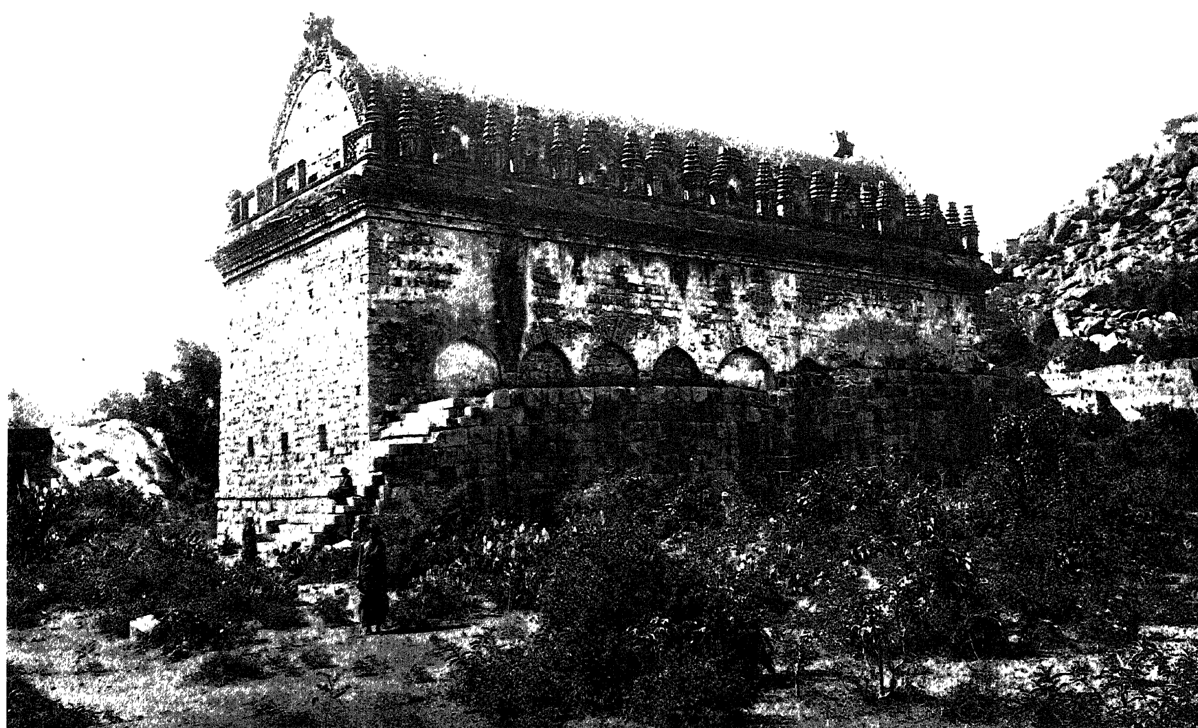
(a) THE FORT: GOOTY.



(b) EAST VIEW OF THE RĀJAGIRI HILL, GINGEE.



(*a*) SOUTH-EAST VIEW OF THE KALYANA MAHALL, GINGEE.



(*b*) NORTH-EAST VIEW OF THE "GYMNASIUM HALL," GINGEE.

PLATE III.



(*a*) GINGEE: SOUTH-WEST VIEW OF FLAGSTAFF TOWER, RĀJAGIRI HILL.



(*b*) GINGEE: TWELVE-PILLARED MAṆḌAPAM.

and the other at Ajmer, has been finished. Both museums supply a long felt want, and there is every promise that both will develop rapidly and prove of great value. In Rajputana, a few States already possess independent museums of their own, but archæology plays only a very subordinate part in them, and in the majority of States there are no museums at all. The newly instituted museum at Ajmer, which is located in the old Treasury of Akbar in the Fort, is accordingly intended as a central museum for the whole of Rajputana, and it is hoped that, with the co-operation ot the Darbars, we may beable to get together a thoroughly representative collection of all classes of antiquities and keep them classified and catalogued on really scientific lines. Everything, of course, will depend on the degree of assistance given by the ruling Chiefs, but there is good reason to expect that their assistance will be given in no illiberal spirit. Indeed, the mere fact that in this museum will be crystallised, as it were, the past history, traditions, and glories of the Rajput races, is a sufficient guarantee in itself that it is not likely to languish for lack of interest on the part of the leading Rajput families. As to the Museum at Peshawar, it is, if possible, even more urgently needed than the one at Ajmer, for there are crowds of sculptures and other antiquities that have long been waiting to be stored in it, and there are crowds more in the Province, which will no doubt quickly find their way to it, when once the building has been formally thrown open to the Public. It is a little unfortunate that this museum should have had to form part of the new Victoria Memorial Hall, as the accommodation provided is far from being as spacious as could be desired, and, moreover, there are no facilities for expansion. However, it will serve its purpose well enough for three or four years, and the strongest argument for the erection of a separate building will no doubt be found when the present accommodation has all been used up.

Besides the completion of these two central museums, the past year has seen the inception of two local museums, at Khajurāho and Sārnāth. In both cases they are meant for the reception only of antiquities belonging to the site, which it would be inconvenient to take away and which might lose focus and value, if dissociated from their natural surroundings. The former building is to be of the simplest description, a large rectangular enclosure, against the outer wall of which and some inner dwarf walls the sculptures will be placed; afterwards, as funds become available, lean-to roofs may be added for the better protection of the sculptures. The museum at Sārnāth is to be a more elaborate structure, as the sculptures and other finds from the excavations there require to be more carefully housed. In plan it will eventually be somewhat like that of the old Buddhist monasteries, with an open courtyard in the centre and a projecting hall in the middle of each face, but the design of the elevation, for which the Consulting Architect is responsible, has many Saracenic features in it. For the present, rather less than half of this building is being constructed, and it is not intended to complete the rest until the excavations have progressed further, and the need for more accommodation has been demonstrated.

J. H. MARSHALL.

JAHANGIR'S TOMB AT SHAHDARA.

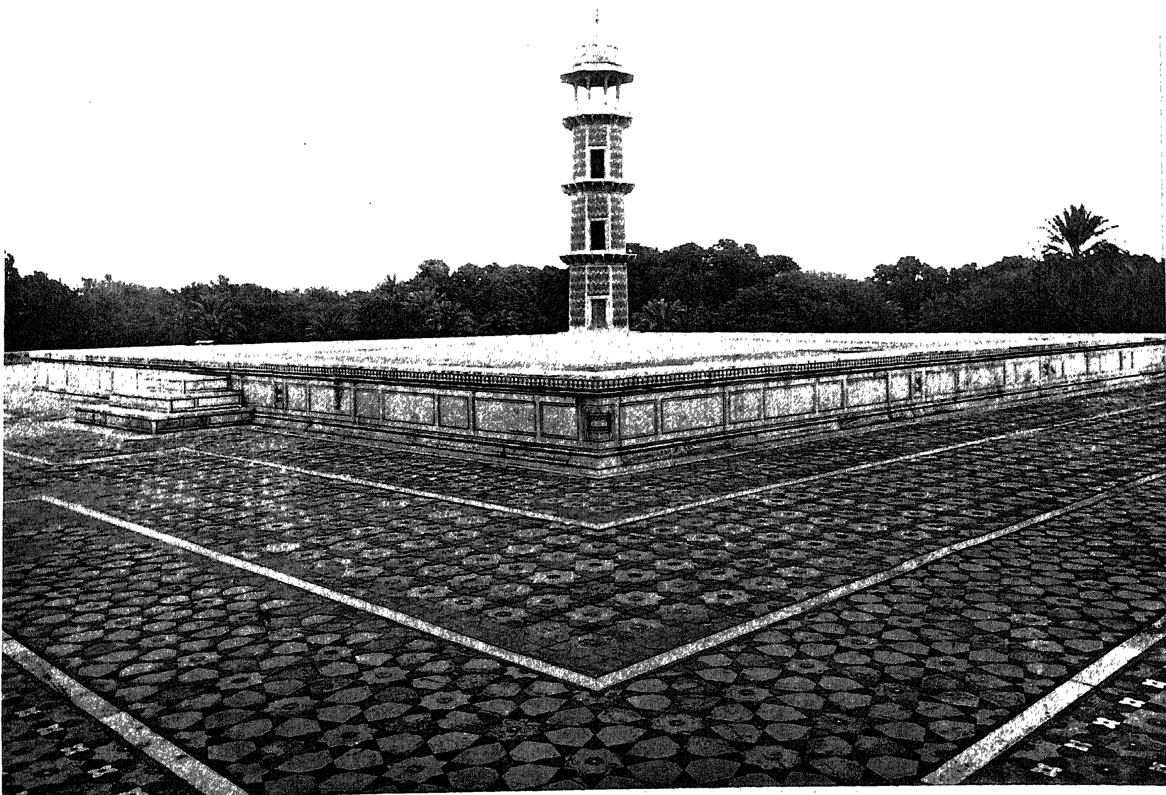
THE problem of ascertaining what was the original form of the central portion of the tomb of Jahāngīr has exercised the imagination of many visitors to Shāhdara during the last century. There can be no doubt that the building as it stands to-day is incomplete, and that there was some structure upon the raised platform in the centre of the flat roof. From the *mutakkā* holes, weather marks and depressions round the edge of this raised platform, the natural deduction seems to be that a stone screen formerly stood there, the bottom rail being 7 inches wide, set back from 2 to 2½ inches from the edge of the platform, with openings 3 feet 6 inches wide in the centre of each of its four sides. There are no indications to warrant the traditional domed structure or pavilion surmounting the raised platform.

As regards the vaulted roof of the central chamber, which must not be confused with the traditional pavilion or marble dome surmounting the raised platform on the roof, the structural evidence strongly indicates that the vault had no hole in its crown originally. The modern skylight (Plate IV) in the middle of this vault, was, apart from its ugliness, given to leaking in the rains. It was consequently dismantled in the beginning of the year, and the edge of the opening in the vault, which had hitherto been concealed by the lining of the skylight, was laid bare for examination. From the broken edge of the brickwork it was at once clear that the opening had not been part of the original construction, but that it had been subsequently formed by hacking through the brickwork of the vault. An opening for light in the crown of a vault is, I believe, a thing unknown in Mughal architecture. Further, the curve of the vault was found just to complete itself without rising above the raised platform on the roof of the tomb—a fact which pointed to the raised platform having been designed to take the vault, and prevent its extrados from showing above the roof. Now that the vault has been completed the central chamber is, of course, much darker than it was when lit by the skylight; but, with its four passages leading into it, the chamber is, even now, considerably lighter than the corresponding chambers at the Tāj and Sikandarah, where Jahāngīr's son and father are buried.

The accounts given by various writers do not agree, one with another, regarding the original form of the tomb. Some corroborate while others contradict the structural evidence, which, in a case of this kind, naturally outweighs tradition. Muhammad



(*a*) VIEW OF THE OLD SKYLIGHT ABOVE THE TOMB.



(*b*) VIEW OF TOP OF TOMB AFTER RESTORATION OF INTERIOR DOME.

Ṣāliḥ[1], in his Shāh Jahān Nāmah, says: "His majesty (Jahāngīr) further willed that his tomb should be erected in the open air, so that the rain and dew of heaven might fall on it. In pursuance of this will the Emperor Shāh Jahān, his son and successor, built a lofty mausoleum of red sandstone, measuring one hundred yards in length, round the tomb of his father, the tomb itself having been built on a raised and open platform of white marble inlaid with precious stones and wrought with works of peculiar beauty . . ." It is conceivable that, if this wish of Jahāngīr's was ever carried out at Shāhdara, the sarcophagus was placed in the middle of the raised platform on the roof, and that the stone tomb in the vaulted chamber is the cenotaph. At all events the pietra dura in the vaulted chamber bears little evidence of having been exposed to storm and rain.

Moorcroft,[2] writing about 1823, gives the following description:—"In the interior of the mausoleum is an elongated sarcophagus of white marble, enshrining the remains of the sovereign of Delhi, the sides of which are wrought with flowers of mosaic . . . The building was surmounted, it is said, by a dome, but it was taken off by Aurangzib, that his grandfather's tomb might be exposed to the weather as a mark of his reprobation of the loose notions and licentious practices of Jahāngīr. Such is the story, but more probably the building was never completed."

In speaking of the 'dome which surmounted the building,' Moorcroft seems to confuse the traditional structure on the raised platform on the roof, with the vaulted roof of the central chamber. Evidently Cole was thinking of this superstructure when he said he did not believe the building ever had a dome[3], since two-thirds of the vaulted roof over the central chamber undoubtedly existed in Cole's time, as it did until the present year.

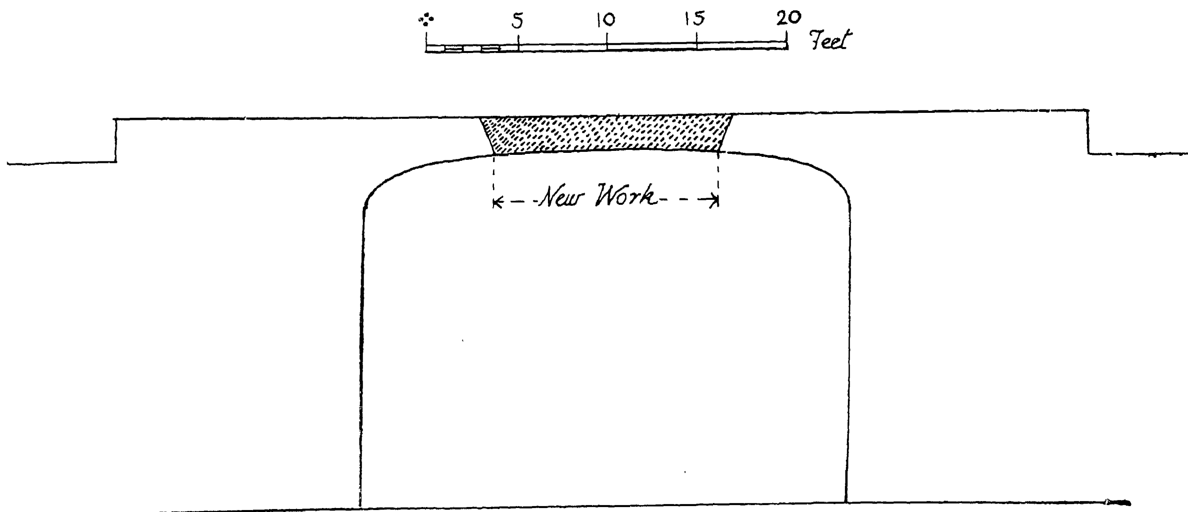


Fig. 1.

Hügel[4], circa. 1835, speaks of a small vaulted chamber very similar to that in the Tāj at Agra. "The light falls on it (the tomb of Jahāngīr) from above."

Von Orlich[5], in 1843, says: "The white marble sarcophagus with Arabic and

1 S. M. Latif, *Lahore*, pp. 106-107.
2 Moorcroft and Trebeck, *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces, etc.*, London, John Murray, Vol. I, pp. 108-109.
3 *Third report of the Curator of Ancient Monuments*, p. CXIX.
4 Hügel: *Travels in Kashmir and the Punjab*, London, John Petheram, 1845: p. 258.
5 Von Orlich, *Travels*, London, Longmans, 1845, Vol. I, p. 220.

Persian inscriptions, stands in the centre under a dome which Shāh Bahādur[1] caused to be destroyed in order that the rain and dew might fall on the tomb of his ancestor."

Upon comparing these accounts with the structural evidence which came to light after the removal of the modern skylight, one is forced to the conclusion that the account of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ is not reliable, if the sarcophagus to which he refers stood on the floor of the central chamber where the inlaid tombstone stands to-day. On the other hand, the accounts of Moorcroft and Von Orlich can well be reconciled with the explanation of the hole in the vault afforded by the bricks and mortar.

The section given in the text (Fig. 1) shows how much of the original vault was still in existence, and the part which has been filled in this year

It is perhaps not generally known that there is some reason for doubting whether the tomb at Shāhdara contains the mortal remains of Jahāngīr at all: and as the subject in some measure affects the question of the vault over the central chamber of the tomb, it may be of interest to quote the authorities for this unbelief. The most important of them is no less than the reliable Tavernier, to whom we are indebted for so much valuable information regarding the buildings and court life of the Mughals in the time of his contemporaries, Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb. In one passage[2] he states that when you reach Agra from the Delhi side you meet a large bazaar, close to which there is a garden where the king Jahāngīr, father of Shāh Jahān, is interred . . . ," and again later on,[3] " He (Āsaf Khān) spread the report that Shāh Jahān was dead, and that, having desired to be interred near Jahāngīr, his father, his body was to be brought to Agra."

Secondly, the traveller Herbert,[4] who was contemporary with Shāh Jahān, mentions Jahāngīr's death in the Bhimber hills, and says of the Umbraves " conveighing the old Mogul's dead body to Lahore, where preparing for his funeral they carry it to Tzecander three course from Agray, and intomb him in King Ecbar's monument." Later on he speaks of certain persons " all whose carcases were without any respect buried in a garden in Lahore neere the entrayls of Jahangheer." Herbert perhaps was given to believe that the entrails only of Jahāngīr were buried near Lahore, and that the body was buried at Sikandarah.

The traveller Terry[5], who came to India in the time of Jahāngīr, bears out the story of Tavernier in the following words: " It (Secandra) was begun by Achabarsha the late Mogul's father, who there lies buried and finished by his son who since was laid up beside him . . ."

If these accounts are true— and they have at least as good a claim to credence as the account of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ—the wish attributed to Jahāngīr that his body might be exposed to the rain and due may have been fulfilled by his burial in the garden at Sikandarah, with no stone even to mark his humble grave.

W. H. NICHOLLS.

[1] Presumably the successor of Aurangzeb, A.D., 1707-1713.

[2] Travernier: *Travels in India*, London, Macmillan & Co.,1899, translated from the French edition of 1676, Vols. I—III.

[3] Ibidem I, 335.

[4] Herbert: *Travels into divers parts of Asia*, London, Richard Bishop, 1638, pp. 105-107.

[5] Terry: *A Voyage to East India*, London, 1777, p. 291.

RAILING IN THE ANGŪRĪ BĀGH AT AGRA.

IT is not known when the railing disappeared from the pavement which surrounds the Angūrī Bāgh in Agra fort, but there is little doubt that it existed in 1844, since it figures in a drawing which Colonel Sleeman published in that year.[1] This drawing purports, according to the title on the plate, to represent the palace of "Dewan Khan" at Delhi, but this is a mistake; it is obviously a view, and a very accurate one, of the Angūrī Bāgh in Agra fort, with the Khāṣ Maḥal and its adjoining pavilions in the background, the Muthamman Burj being on the left, and the octagonal tower on the right of the picture.



Fig. 1.

[1] Lieut.-Col. W. H. Sleeman; *Rambles and Recollections*, London, J. Hatchard and Son, 1844: Vol. II, Plate 22.

The railing was evidently of red sand-stone, and contained six independent shafts in each bay. Although the kerb on which the railing stood is full of mortise holes, it is impossible to deduce from them the exact proportions of the railing. As there was a bottom rail, there is nothing to show that the tenons between the bottom rail and the kerb corresponded with the uprights in the railing: and besides, the mortise holes are very irregular. They do, however, indicate that there were three bays, or at any rate, two uprights between the sides of the causeways, and in this respect they are in confirmation of Colonel Sleeman's drawing. The distance between the bays, which is thus indicated, is just under six feet (centre to centre).

Curiously enough a fragment of a railing, answering very closely to that shown on Colonel Sleeman's drawing, was found some years ago, in Agra Fort, so it is said, and is now preserved in the museum at Lucknow. The similarity between the fragment and the drawing is, in fact, so remarkable that there is ground for the suspicion that the fragment in Lucknow museum is actually part of the original Angūrī Bāgh railing. The details of this fragment have been followed in the restoration of one bay on each side of the central causeway, as a suggestion of what the original effect was when the railing was standing. (Fig. 1.)

The pattern of the railing is of a type which was not uncommon in Mughal work. An old photograph of the Dīwān-i-'Ām at Delhi shows a similar railing in front of the hall of audience. Another example stands in the garden of the Amber palace at Jeypore. In Agra fort, too, there is a similar old piece fixed as a make-shift in an opening on the north side of the octagonal tower, south of the Khāṣ Maḥal and, when the ground west of the Jahāngīrī Maḥal was being levelled, another fragment was discovered. Neither of the latter pieces were found to agree with the evidence deduced from Colonel Sleeman's drawing and the mortise holes so closely as does the fragment in Lucknow museum.

W. H. NICHOLLS.

CONSERVATION IN ASSAM.

OF all the countries in India, to which the civilisation of the Aryans gradually extended, Assam seems to have been one of the last. If in the famous story of the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, Agni Vaiśvānara, the personification of Brahmanical culture, in the course of his progress towards the east, made halt at the frontier of Magadha, or Bihar, it probably took him another thousand years before he could cross the frontier of Assam. Even the ancient name of Assam, or rather of the western part of it, *Prāgjyotiṣa,* implies the notion of its having been looked upon in antiquity as the "benighted province" of India, a sort of dark continent; for the name evidently means "that which lies to the East of the light," a country, where the sun never sets, because he never rises there.

The introduction of Aryan civilisation into Assam is attributed to Kṛṣṇa. As in Magadha he overthrew the barbarian rule of Jarāsandha, so, in his progress towards the rising sun, he defeated Naraka, the King of Prāgjyotiṣa, and restored to Aditi, the goddess of the earth, her ear-rings, which had been stolen by Naraka.[1] The name *Naraka* itself, a diminutive form of *nara* 'a man,' seems to imply a notion of contempt, and the crime, with which he stands charged, *viz.*, the theft of the ear-rings of Aditi, the earth-goddess, might be expressed in the dry matter-of-fact language of modern days, by saying that his very existence was looked upon as a disgrace to civilisation. For to an Indian woman her ornaments form part of her personal honour, and it is only when she becomes a widow, or otherwise disgraced, that she is not allowed to wear them in public.

The course of Aryan civilisation in its progress towards Assam naturally followed the valley of the Brahmaputra. It is here that we meet with the first Aryan settlements. However, owing to the unfavourable conditions of the climate of Assam, with its torrents of rain and perpetual recurrences of seismic disturbances, it cannot surprise us in the least to find scarcely any ancient buildings left to us, of the time previous to the conquest of Assam by the Ahom kings, towards the end of the seventeenth century A.D. The modern civil stations of Gauhati and Tezpur seem to occupy the sites of two of the oldest and most important among the early Aryan settlements in Assam, called *Prāgjyotiṣapura* and *Hārūppeśvara* in Sanskrit. Like the modern

[1] See Nowgong copper-plate of Balavarman, l. 4: *J. A. S. B., Vol. LXVI, Part I, 1897, p. 289;* also Bargaon plate of Ratnapāla, ll. 6-8: *l. c., Vol. LXVII, Part I, 1898, p. 107.*

Champanagar, the site of *Champâ*, the ancient capital of the kingdom of the *Aṅgas*, west of Bhagalpur in Bengal, both Gauhati and Tezpur have been built upon a sort of artificial plateau, raised by the underlying *débris* of the ancient settlements. A great number of mediæval Indian carvings, brought to light during modern building operations, bear ample evidence of this fact. In regard to Tezpur, it seems worth mentioning here a discovery made a short time ago, towards the end of 1905, and reported by Mr. F. J. Monahan, I.C.S., in a letter dated the 18th January, 1906. Mr. Monahan writes as follows :—

" On digging for foundations, for the additions, which are being made to the Deputy Commissioner's office at Tezpur, the builders came upon a layer of hewn blocks of granite, underlying the present building. Some of the blocks, which have been dug up, are elaborately sculptured, as cornices, bases, or capitals of columns, etc., like the pieces, which one sees lying here and there, on and around the Tezpur *maidan*. There seems to be every probability, that the extent of the underground layer of hewn stone may be not less than that of the *cutchery* site ; it may, of course, be much greater. The layer of stones is also, apparently, of considerable depth. I saw a hole, about 4 feet deep, opened by the removal of some of the granite blocks, below which there were more stones, apparently of the same kind. These remains point to the existence of a great building, of massive and ornate architecture, on the Tezpur *maidan* site. There are ruins of a similar building on the *Bāmanī* Hill, two miles east of Tezpur. The top of this hill is a mass of granite blocks, many of them most curiously carved, and piled one on the other to an unknown depth."

The ruins on the *Bāmanī* Hill near Tezpur, referred to at the end of this extract, evidently belonged to some Hindu temple of considerable size, and the remains, found below the modern *cutchery* building, seemingly formed part of a similar structure. So far as one may judge from the carvings above ground, both at Tezpur and at Gauhati, the entire absence of anything Buddhist among them is remarkable. The mild religion of Buddha probably never ventured to force its way into the wilderness of Assam, and we may well understand, why it was that the cult of such blood-thirsty goddesses as Kālī, called *Kāmākhyā*[1] at her principal shrine near Gauhati, has been able to take such deep root in the mind of the indigenous population of the Brahmaputra valley, after it had been wielded into that heterogeneous conglomeration of various races and creeds, which we now call " Hinduism. "

The climatic conditions of Assam, alluded to above, also explain why this province forms a comparatively easy charge, so far as conservation work is concerned. The ancient cities, buried under the modern stations of Tezpur and Gauhati, unfortunately, cannot be unearthed again, and among the many temples, dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries A.D., which still remain preserved to us, there are but few, that either require or justify any extensive scheme of conservation work. On the other hand, it is a matter of some satisfaction, that, in certain outlying places of Assam, a number of remains are to be found, still fairly well preserved and forming, as it were, quite a separate group of antiquities, almost original in many respects and distinguished from anything seen in other provinces of India.

It is to this latter class of antiquities that conservation work in Assam has been almost exclusively directed. Some of these, in fact, are so much hidden away inside an impenetrable *jungle*, that one does not feel justified in recommending their

[1] This name appears to be a corruption from Sanskrit *Kāmākṣī*, due to the Assamese pronunciation.

CONSERVATION IN ASSAM.





Half-tone.

Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, 1909.

preservation to Government. For, apart from the cost of getting up labour, they are never likely to be visited by anyone, with the exception, perhaps, of a few isolated sportsmen, who may chance to come upon these remnants of bygone civilisation. However, the recent opening up of the province by railways has helped to bring some of the more important ancient monuments of Assam into closer and more convenient reach for anyone interested in them. I refer especially to the remains of the ancient city of Dīmāpūr, doubtless the most curious group of ruins in Assam, which now lie within easy reach from the Assam-Bengal Railway, less than a mile distant from the Manipur Road Station on that line.

The modern name *Dīmāpūr*, meaning "the city on the Dīmā," seems to have been derived from the river, now called *Dhunsiri*, close to it.[1] The flourishing time of the place seems to have been the fifteenth century A.D., for, according to Gait,[2] the Kāchārīs deserted their capital at Dīmāpūr after its invasion by the Ahoms, in 1536 A.D., and established a new capital at Maibong.[3] The style of the gateway in the eastern wall of the ancient city of Dīmāpūr points to the same period;[4] for in its curved battlement, its narrow, pointed arch over the entrance, and its clumsy, octagonal corner turrets, it exhibits all the characteristic elements of that style of Muhammadan brick architecture in Bengal, which flourished in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries A.D., during the period of independence, and died out soon after Bengal had been annexed to the Mug͟hal Empire by Akbar.

The total length of the city wall, which appears to consist of earth, raised upon an underlying brick structure, has not been measured by me; however, from Major Godwin-Austen's plan[5], I make it to be 4,250 yards, or about 2·4 miles, in circuit, including the broken portion along the Dhunsiri river. The principal remains stand close to the gate, in the eastern part of the city. They consist of two groups of stone pillars, running parallel to each other from north to south. Each of those two groups is, again, divided into two rows of pillars. The pillars in the first two rows, nearest to the gate, will be referred to in the following pages as "*chessman-columns*," a name given to them by Major Godwin-Austen on account of their shape, which somewhat resembles that of chessman-figures. This will best be seen on Fig. 1; also on Plate V.

Major Godwin-Austen, likewise, is responsible for the name of "*V-shaped columns*" for the bifurcating stone pillars, which make up the third and fourth rows from the entrance to Dīmāpūr city. Unfortunately, very few of them are at present erect, and none of them could be shown in its unbroken condition in any of the illustrations accompanying this article; however, one-half of a V-column may be seen on Plate VI (*a*). A peculiarity, that should be noted at once, is, that the

[1] See Gait, *A History of Assam, Calcutta, 1906, p. 89, Note*. *Dīmā* is explained as a Kāchārī word, meaning 'any large collection of water,' from *dī* 'water,' and *mā* 'great.' The Ahoms called Dīmāpūr 'the brick city': *che-din-che-pen*, literally 'city-earth-burn-make.'

[2] *L. c., p. 244.*

[3] Remains of this second capital of the Kāchārī kings still exist close to the Railway Station of Maibong, on the Assam-Bengal line. The most interesting among these remains is a small rock-cut temple, in the shape of a Bengali house, with a curved roof. It bears an inscription, dated the 5th *Mārgaśīrṣa* in the Śaka year 1643 (end of 1721 A.D.), and referring to a king *Hariścandra Nārāyaṇa*, the Lord of *Hiḍimbā*, perhaps Kāchār.

[4] A lithograph of it has been published by Major H. H. Godwin-Austen, along with his note on the Ruins at Dīmāpūr, *J. A. S. B., Vol. XLIII, 1874, Part I, Plate IV.*

[5] *Loc. cit, Plate I.*

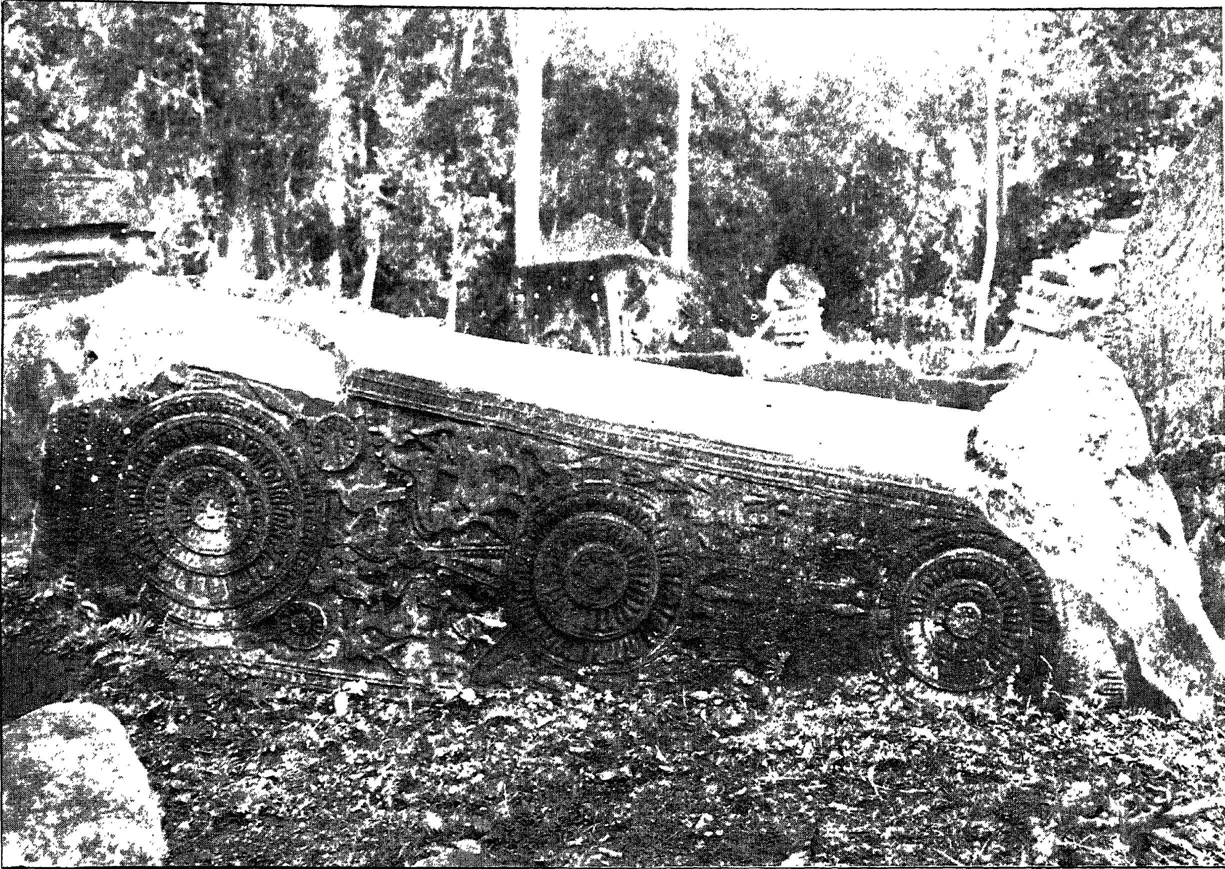
upper ends of the two stone beams, making up the V, have one mortise hole each, as if they had been intended to receive some other structure, raised over them. The ornamentation on the chessman-columns is entirely floral or geometrical, and remarkable for the absence of any animal figures whatever. Sometimes the ornamental bands, hanging down the columns, have swords or daggers carved upon them. The most striking feature, however, apart from the hemispherical capital, is the band, tied around the neck of the column, plainly visible in Fig. 1.



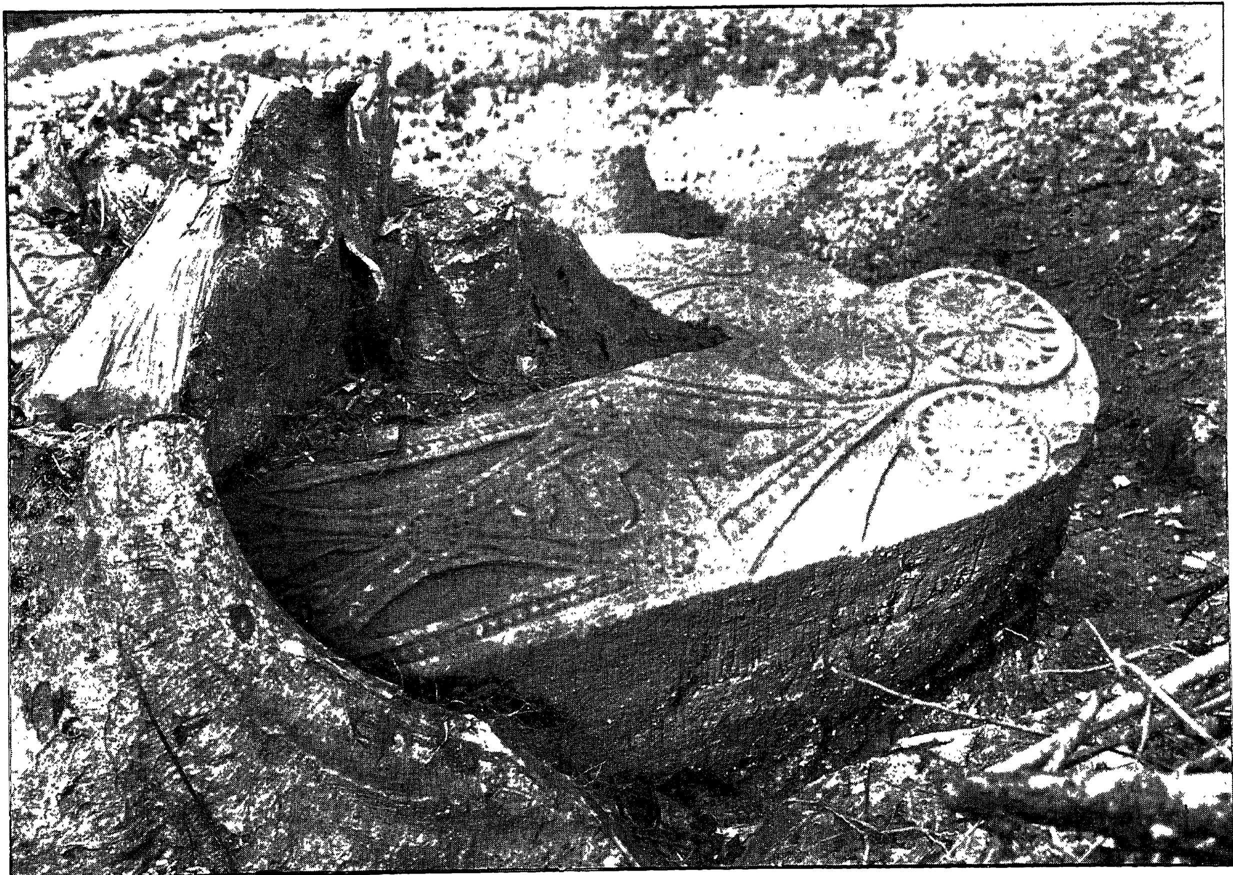
Fig. 1. Chessman-columns at Dīmāpūr.

On the V-columns, animal designs are frequently met with between the three rosettes, which divide each half of the V into two separate fields of ornamentation. Thus, we find on the broken half, shown in Plate VI (*a*), below two figures of birds, perhaps peacocks, the well-known Indian design of a tiger, overpowering an elephant. The design is purely conventional and, to add to its strange appearance, the sculptor in some cases provided it with horns, as on the stone shown in Plate VI (*a*), almost as if he had thought of fabulous monsters, such as the unicorn, of which, of course, we can hardly expect him to have had any knowledge.

A third type of stone monument, found at Dīmāpūr, will be seen in Plate VI (*b*). It differs from the V-columns only in so far as the two bifurcating stone beams have been slightly curved, so as to resemble in shape somewhat the horns of a buffalo; thus:— As will be seen later on, this form is probably more than a mere conventionality, and the name, "buffalo-horn columns" accordingly seems to be



(a) BROKEN V— COLUMN AT DĪMĀPŪR.



Half-tone.

Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, 1909.

(b) BROKEN COLUMN, SHAPED LIKE BUFFALO-HORNS, AT DĪMĀPŪR.

suited for them. Here, again, not a single column is now erect, and any illustration, accordingly, can only give an approximate idea of the original shape of these curious monuments. Their ornamentation is remarkable for the groups of three rosettes, shown on Plate VI (*b*). A dagger or sword, and a few animal figures are generally placed between the triangular bands, which develop, as it were, out of the three spirals that encircle the rosettes on the upper end.

The broken and dilapidated state of most of the monuments inside the ancient city of Dīmāpūr, will be seen clearly enough from the illustrations published with this



Fig. 2. Broken chessman-columns at Dīmāpūr.

article. Fig. 2 affords a good illustration of their present condition. It was of course out of the question to attempt anything like a complete restoration of any of those various groups of stone monuments. Actually in the two rows of chessman-columns, it was possible to save 13, out of 16, and 15 out of 17, while in the following two rows of V-columns 5 out of 15 and one out of 17 were capable of being set up again. But to lift and replace broken stones, weighing several tons, requires heavy and costly plant and machinery, and the programme of conservation work at Dīmāpūr, has, accordingly, been limited to restoring one or two specimens of each group only, to show what the remainder were like. The permanent upkeep of the restored monuments, moreover, entails a continuous struggle against the luxurious growth of an Assam jungle, which one might almost call a primeval forest, but for the fact that we often know its growth to date from a period of less than a hundred years. So far, however, as it has been possible to ascertain definitely about the existence of remains, it appears that the monuments already known to us represent all the anti-quities, hidden inside the Dīmāpūr jungle, at least I am informed that a careful search

of the remaining area inside the city walls, made with the promise of small pecuniary rewards for any discoveries, has ended without any result whatever.

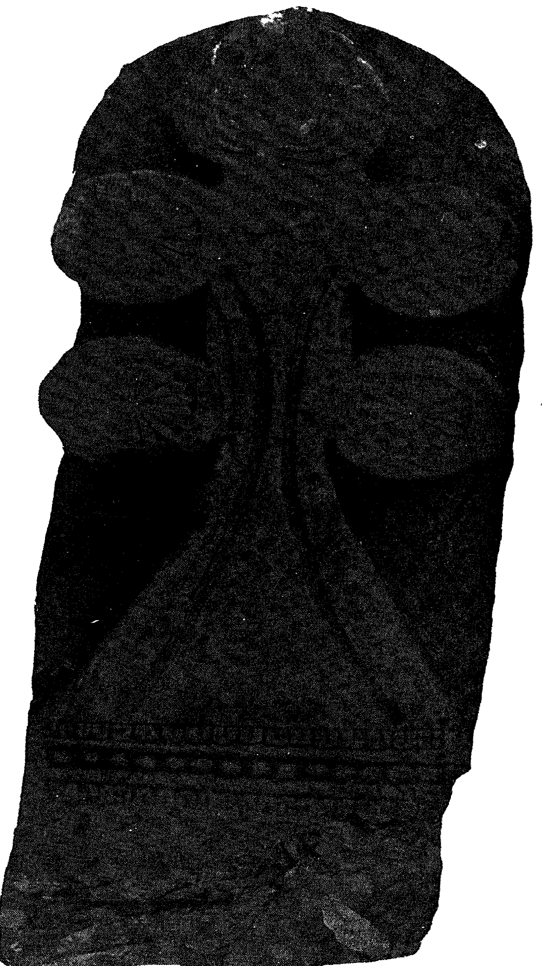
Before entering into the question of the signification and date of the pillars at Dīmāpūr, it seems worth our while to mention briefly a group of similar remains at Kāsomārī Pathar, close to the Doyang river, about one day's journey off Jamuguri Station, on the Assam-Bengal Railway.



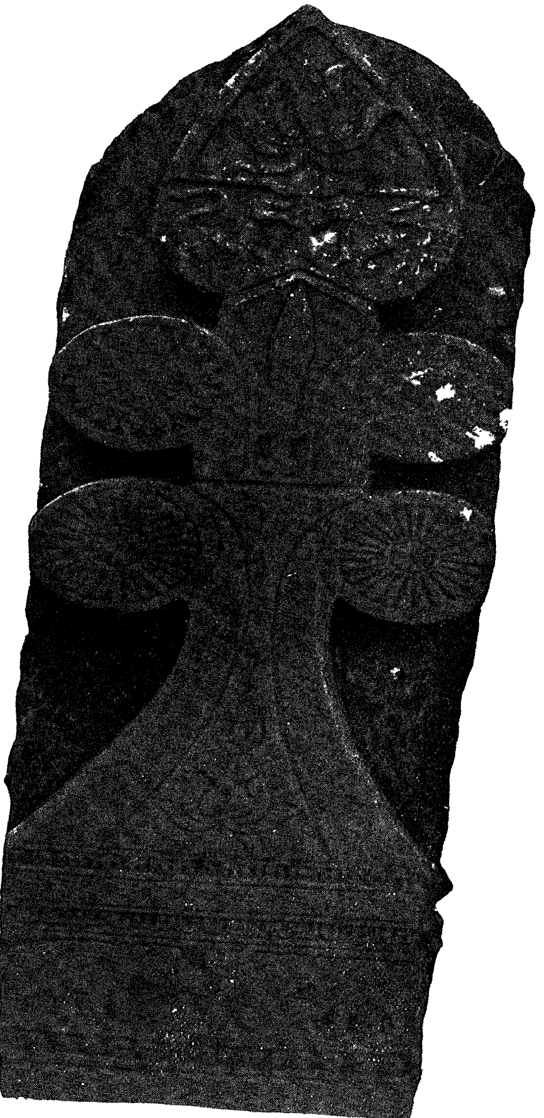
Fig. 3. Chessman-pillar at Kāsomārī Pathar.

Their discovery appears to be due to the local Forest Officer. The place is so very secluded, that it will scarcely be visited by any other official in the course of his tours of inspection, and even at Jamuguri, before starting on my boat journey, I was advised to employ a special guide, who had visited the site on a previous occasion, as my boatmen professed complete ignorance of the locality.

As in Dīmāpūr, the remains here also are found within the area of an old city. The earthen ramparts and moats are still visible, and inside are several mounds of earth, which may contain the remains of some buildings. The monoliths belong to the northern section of the town. First, there is an isolated chessman-column 9′ high,



a



b



c

SWORD-BLADE COLUMNS AT KASOMĀRĪ-PATHAR.

with a circumference of 2′ 6″ at its base. It is identical in style with the Dīmāpūr chessman-pillars (Fig. 3). The hemispherical capital has a number of garlands falling down from its top. Among the carved emblems we again meet with the figure of a sword or dagger, similar to that now used by the Nagas and other wild tribes of Assam. At a distance of 55′ from this column is a double row of stones—24 altogether. It looks as if each line consisted of 12 stones, but the ruinous state of the place and the thick jungle made it impossible to take accurate measurements. The distance between the stones was about 10′. Here, again, the two lines run from north to south. The stones in the western line appear to have been larger than those in the eastern line. There are also some indications of the height of the stones gradually decreasing from the centre towards each side, as in the Dīmāpūr pillars. My measurements of four stones recorded the following heights:—6′ 5″; 8′; 9′ 4″; 8′ 6″. The position of these stones is such that the first, or lowest, stands near the northern end, the third, or highest, almost in the centre, while the remaining two are more or less close to it. The average breadth is 2′ 6″ in circumference.

Only four out of the two dozen of stones are still erect. The remaining stones all lie prostrate on the ground, some broken and some complete, some upside down, and others with their carved faces turned upwards. It was impossible to photograph any of the fallen stones, but the three specimens shown on Plate VII will supply a general idea as to what these stones looked like. Only one side is carved. Its pointed shape, narrowing a little towards the base, somewhat resembles the blade of a sword or dagger. Perhaps the name 'sword-blade' or 'dagger-columns' would be appropriate for them, to distinguish them from the chessman and V-columns. The base has a horizontal band of ornaments. The panel below it has some animal figures—elephants or lions—carved upon it on some of the stones. From the horizontal bands rise generally two, but in a few instances only one pair of projecting bands, which at the end develop into a circle, filled up with rosettes and similar designs. The irregular triangle, which is formed by the two curves nearing each other towards the top, is either left empty, or has a sword or some other emblem carved upon it. The top is filled with a heart-shaped panel, containing various patterns of ornamentation. At the north-eastern end of the group stands a small square pillar, 3′ 8½″ high and 1′ 4″ broad. It has a hollow in the top, 7½″ square.

From the very outset, there can be no room left for doubting the intimate connection of the Kāsomārī Pathar columns with those at Dīmāpūr. So far as their ornamentation is concerned, there is very little that connects them with the ordinary class of Northern Indian works of art. In studying the designs exhibited on those columns, one certainly feels a slight touch of mediæval Northern Indian Art here and there, *e.g.*, in the rosettes so common on the pillars, and especially in animal groups, such as the lion rampant, over an elephant, to which allusion has been made above. But, inasmuch as the general shape of those columns, including the patterns of ornamentation employed in their carvings, bear such a marked un-Indian appearance, the suggestion offers itself that the people, to whom we owe their erection, came from a foreign, non-Aryan stock, and that we have to look into the religious or social customs of the many aboriginal tribes inhabiting the Assam border-lands, in order to grasp the true meaning of these curious stone

monuments. Fortunately enough, a certain amount of evidence has recently been brought to light, which helps us a great deal further in this direction.

It has already been variously suggested, that the columns at Dīmāpūr were memorial stones, put up in honour of some great man or event, or commemorating some meritorious act, such as the killing of a *mithun*, or bison, or the feasting of a village. This suggestion was first brought to my notice by Mr. B. C. Allan, I.C.S., sometime Superintendent of Gazetteer Revision in Assam. Later on, I found it expounded in an interesting report by Mr. Mitchell, Executive Engineer, Naga Hills Division. The custom, I understand, is still in vogue among the Naga tribes, who put up in their villages single blocks of stone, or bifurcated wooden posts, as memorial tokens of their national heroes, and of events like those mentioned above. The shape of one class of bifurcated columns, which above, on page 20, I proposed to call "buffalo-horn columns," fits remarkably well with this theory. For we may well understand their form to have grown out of the custom of putting up the horns of the slaughtered buffalo as an offering to the deity. Later on, when the barbarous hill-tribes of Assam took to a more sumptuous style of living, this old national custom used to be continued by setting up stone memorials, imitating the shape of the buffalo-horns, but of much larger size, and covered with elaborate and delicate carvings.[1]

Some modern analogies to this custom, which are still found in some of the Naga villages, have been observed by Mr. (now Sir Bampfylde) Fuller, the late Chief Commissioner of Assam. His interesting note on them is as follows:—

"The Chief Commissioner has recently visited the ruins of Dīmāpūr, after having marched through the Naga Hills, and has been struck with several points of similarity between the V-shaped pillars and the memorials used by the Naga tribes to commemorate sacrifices. Mr. Fuller found in Sema villages wooden 'shields' cut out in the shape of the letter U, standing 7 or 8 feet, high and covered with rough carving, amongst which were symbols of the Sun, of the Moon, and of Lightning. He noticed that these shields all faced the east, and was told on enquiry that for some reason now unknown they were all turned to the rising Sun. In general shape as well as in being definitely orientated, they were not very unlike the V-shaped stones recently discovered at Dīmāpūr. The Rengma Nagas use rows of stones, of gradually decreasing size. The Chief Commissioner noticed in the Garo Hills wooden pillars, set up before houses in memory of dead relations, which are something like the 'chessman' shape."

There are, of course, and ever will be, a number of more or less curious stories current in Assam about those interesting monuments. Thus, we are told that the chessman-pillars at Dīmāpūr each marked the appointed seat of some grandee, or the place where criminals used to be executed, leaving aside the common belief, that they indicate the sites of buried treasure. Unfortunately, history is reticent about them, and they do not offer us any definite clue in the shape of inscriptions, that might help us a little further. We must, therefore, for the present remain satisfied with the information collected above, and it seems very doubtful, indeed, if future discoveries will enable us to speak of them in terms more definite than those in which I have described them here.

[1] The figures of wild animals, seen among the carvings of the bifurcating columns, likewise point towards the same direction, and I think we can hardly go wrong in looking upon those stones as some kind of hunting memorials, similar to other ones, found in various parts of India; see *e. g., Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, pp. 50ff. and Plate.*

I cannot, however, conclude this article, without noticing briefly another group of interesting remains in Assam, which I visited early in 1905, at the express wish of Sir Bampfylde Fuller. I refer to the so-called "Copper Temple," near the ancient city of Bhīṣmaknagar, at Kuṇḍilnagar,[1] from four to five days' journey by boat and elephant to the east of Sadiya. The temple itself has become famous owing to the fact that almost down to the memory of the present generation, human sacrifices [2] have been offered



Fig. 4. Interior of Copper Temple, near Sadiya.

there to some form of Durgā, evidently worshipped under the name of *Tāmreśvarī*.[3] This name, probably, originally meant simply "the Īśvarī, or Durgā, put up by Tāmra."

[1] No remains are known to exist at Bhīṣmaknagar, which lies a short distance off Kuṇḍilnagar. Its earthen walls have been followed by me on an elephant for about two miles. Before attempting to clear this large area, some definite information in regard to any possible remains seems to be called for. Historically both places are closely connected.

[2] See *J. A. S. B., LXVII, 1898, Part III, p. 58.* We meet with another interesting reference to human sacrifices, offered to Śiva at Girivraja, or Rājgīr, by king Jarāsandha. The passage is found in the *Mahā-Bhārata, Sabhāparvan. 21, v. 16.* Here we read of a flesh-eating bullock, killed by Bṛhadratha: *yatra māṁsādam ṛṣabham āsasāda Bṛhadrathaḥ; taṁ hatvā, etc.* What is meant by this curious tale becomes evident later on, when (22, v. 11) we read that Kṛṣṇa blames Jarāsandha for having offered human scarifices to Śiva :—

Manuṣyāṇāṁ samālambho na ca dṛṣṭaḥ kadācana;
sa kathaṁ mānuṣair devaṁ yaṣṭum icchasi Śaṅkaram?

This very curious verse, like a similar one just before, v. 9, thus shows that Jarāsandha was believed to have offered human sacrifices to Śiva, whose image was represented under the form of a bull. In regard to Sadiya, I understand, that the reason, why no tea-gardens are allowed to settle inside the neutral zone, north of the Brahmaputra, near Sadiya, is the fear, that some of the wild hill tribes, like the Abors or Mishmis, might carry off some of the tea-garden coolies into slavery. However, they might do so for the purpose of selling those unfortunate coolies as slaves, but hardly with the object of sacrificing them to one of their deities.

[3] Very often the first part of similar compound-names of Indian deities contains the proper name of the person who put up that particular image. Thus, to mention one single instance instead of many, at Belamla, in the Rajshahi District of Eastern Bengal, are two *liṅgas*, one called *Gopeśvara*, and the other *Kāntesvara*. Now, as we know that each of them has been put up, only a couple of hundred years ago, by a person called *Gopikānta*, it is evident that each word has been formed with one of the two parts of Gopīkānta's name, and we must accordingly translate both words alike, as "the *liṅga*, put up by Gopikānta."

It is, of course, impossible to say, who this person, called *Tāmra*, may have been; however, it seems worth mentioning, that in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, 10, 59, 12—I quote from Böhtlingk and Roth's Sanskrit Dictionary—*Tāmra* is the name of one of the sons of Naraka, the famous mythical king of Prāgjyotiṣa, to whom allusion has been made in the beginning of this article. This explanation of the word *Tāmreśvarī*, at the same time, helps us to a proper understanding of the modern English name, "*Copper Temple*," for *tāmra*, as is well known, means "copper" in Sanskrit, and the legend of the temple originally having been covered with copper, almost certainly sprang out of a misunderstanding of the word *Tāmreśvarī*, the name of the goddess worshipped inside the temple. It is needless to say that no copper has been left anywhere close to the temple, and the clamps holding the stones together are all of iron.

As will be seen from the two illustrations in Figs. 4 and 5, the Copper Temple is far beyond any possible repairs. It must have been a small shrine only, and from its

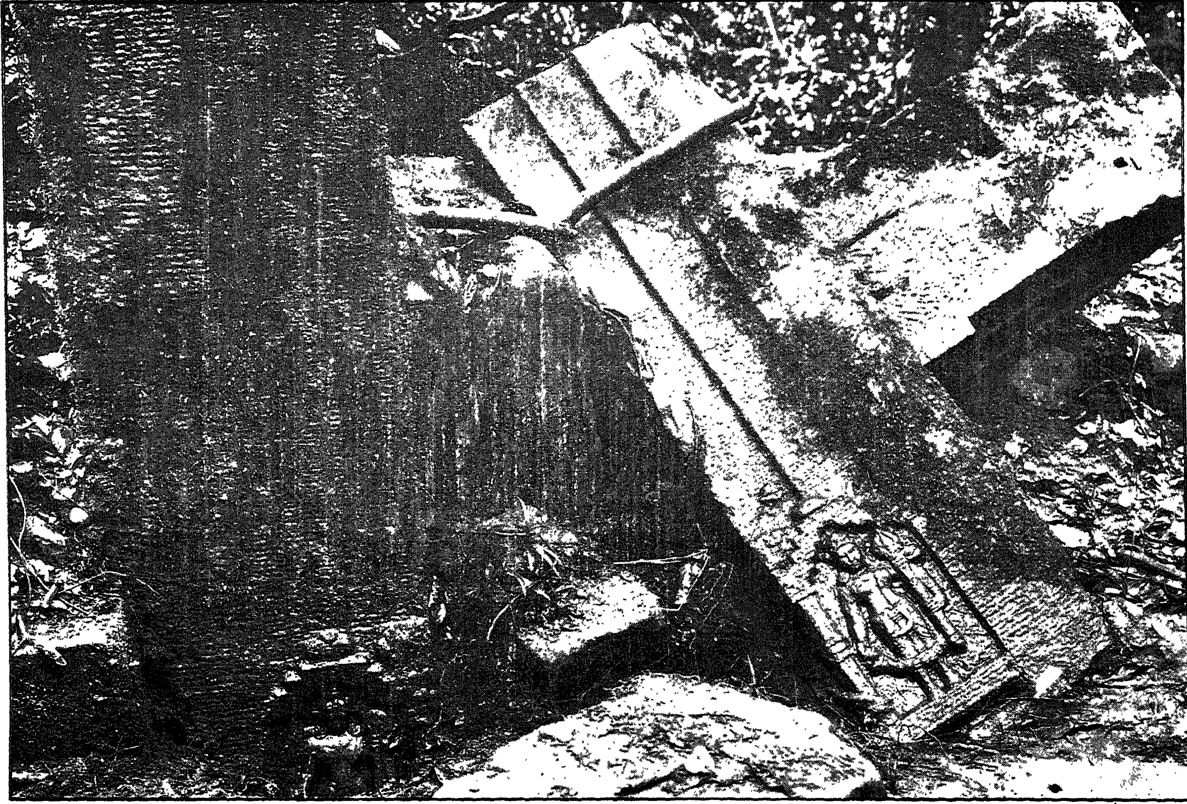


Fig. 5. Ruined gateway of Copper Temple, near Sadiya.

position in a remote corner of the area marking the site of the old city of *Kuṇḍil-nagar*, we should hardly be justified in looking upon it as a very important sanctuary; perhaps it was nothing more than a small family chapel, used by the ancient rulers of *Bhīṣmaknagar* for their private devotion. As will be seen from the illustration of the ruined gateway of the temple in Fig. 5, one of the jambs had carved upon it an image of Śiva who acted here as a *dvārapāla*—or guardian of the temple.

Far more interesting than this small temple, were a number of carved tiles, which were fixed into all the inner sides of the city wall, except the eastern one. The number found by me amounted to sixteen, of which twelve were

still *in situ*, the balance being recovered from the *débris* and mud in front of the wall. Could I have devoted more than a few hours to this digging,—which, by the way, had to be done with implements prepared from wood,—I have no doubt but that it would have been possible to recover some more tiles from the *débris*. However, they probably would have been found in small fragments only, like some of those dug out by me, and moreover, it was absolutely out of the question to camp anywhere in the jungle, except on the bed of the river, which was a good distance off the Copper Temple and the ancient city of Bhīṣmaknagar.

Nine of the best specimens of tiles are shown on Plate VIII. Generally speaking, the carvings represent figures of men, animals, birds, flowers and geometrical patterns, evidently without any symbolical meaning attached to them, whether religious or otherwise. The style is of the semi-barbarian kind, as in the carvings at Dīmāpūr and other places in Assam. As instances of this, I may refer to the figure of a tiger or lion (Plate VIII, 5), which is very similar in treatment to the figure of a lion mounting on an elephant, seen on the broken V-columns from Dīmāpūr. The type, of course, is Indian and only too common in mediæval Indian Art, but the design, especially of the mane and tail, in the Assam figures is peculiar. The peacocks, of which two are represented on another tile (Plate VIII, 4), with their bodies twisted around each other, are also a favourite device on the Dīmāpūr columns; and the ornamental pattern of the tile No. 7 in the following list, occurs again on some of the V-columns in the newly-discovered third group of pillars at Dīmāpūr. The following is a descriptive list of the carvings represented on the tiles :—

(1) bearded man, dancing, holding staff in right hand, and unknown object in uplifted left hand, *see Plate VIII, 1 ;*

(2) beardless man, with conical cap, running, holding spear in right hand; dagger fastened to left side of girdle ; *see Plate VIII, 2 ;*

(3) pair of dancers; their uplifted right hands hold some sort of musical instrument (?); the left hands, holding a stick, rest on the hip; perforated ears; eyes and mouths wide open; snub noses; and hair arranged in strands ending in spirals; *see Plate VIII, 3 ;*

(4) two peacocks, with their bodies twisted around each other; small tree or flower on each side; *see Plate VIII, 4 ;*

(5) lion or tiger, standing against tree, with forelegs uplifted; tongue protruding from mouth; tail ending in a cluster of five bunches of hair; *see Plate VIII, 5 ;*

(6) horse, with saddle and bridle; *see Plate VIII, 6 ;*

(7) circle, formed by two lines, with dots between; inside ornament, formed by twisting a rope or cord into four larger and many smaller irregular circles or ellipses;

(8) plant, with five long, pointed leaves ;

(9) two squares, laid crosswise into each other; corners filled with ornamental sprigs; in inner square, ornamental flower, with four small and four large petals;

(10) group of four flowers; the largest one is cup-shaped, with four leaves or petals on each side; two small flowers below, and a bud, rising over largest flower;

(11) lotus-shaped ornament, with eight petals arranged around circle in centre, having cluster of nine drops; *see Plate VIII, 7 ;*

(12) falcon carrying heron ; *see Plate VIII, 8 ;*

(13) dancing figure; right hand uplifted, left hand resting on hip; head resembles those of dancers on tile No. 3; broken; *see Plate VIII, 9 ;*

(14) five fragments, making up half the original tile, which evidently had a bird, resembling a cock, as ornament;

(15) fabulous bird, with pointed crest; I am unable to suggest what kind of bird this is; two pieces; corner missing;

(16) three pieces; lotus-shaped ornament, similar to that in tile No. 11; inside, circle formed by two lines.

It seems impossible at present to offer any suggestion as to the age of the remains to which these curious tiles belong. We are left in complete ignorance about the period when the ancient city of *Bhīṣmaknagar* was inhabited, and about the nation or tribe who used it as the seat of their government. I may notice, however, another fact, which confirms me in the opinion that the country east of Sadiya, was at a former time better known to, and in closer touch with, the Aryan population of Northern India than at present. When I travelled up the river from Sadiya to Bhīṣmaknagar, I met with numbers of Panjabis going in the same direction. Panjabi milkmen were selling milk to their countrymen all along the river-bed, and small marts had been established at various places where I halted. On enquiry, I was informed that somewhere in that direction is a locality, called *Paraśurāmeśvara-tīrtha*. It was described to me as a sort of waterfall, formed by one of the many arms of the river up there, perhaps something like the "Hardvār of the Brahmaputra," where that river turns down to the plains. The knowledge of this secluded spot, coupled with the fact that it annually attracts a number of pilgrims from such remote distances as the Panjab, certainly goes to show that, at one time, the country east of Sadiya was not, as at present, so very much out of the reach of civilisation, and it seems natural to surmise that the establishment of *Paraśurāmeśvara* as a regular place of pilgrimage, a sacred *tīrtha* to the Hindus, dates from a time when the ancient city of Bhīṣmaknagar was inhabited, and formed, perhaps, the seat of the Governor of one of the frontier provinces of Assam, the *Koṭṭapāla* of the Kingdom of *Prāgjyotiṣa*, as his title then may have been.

T. BLOCH.

CONSERVATION IN ASSAM.



1.



2.



3.



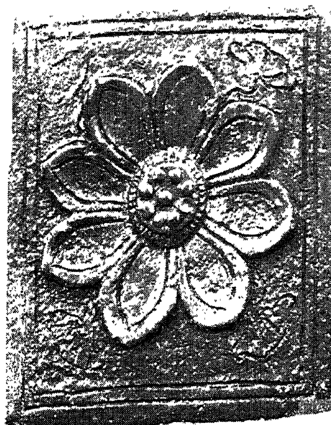
4.



5.



6.



7.



8.



9.

Half-tone.

Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, 1909.

CARVED TILES FROM WALLS OF ANCIENT CITY OF BHĪṢMAKNAGAR, NEAR SADIYA.

SOME CONSERVATION WORKS IN BURMA.

THE total amount of expenditure incurred on archæological works during the year 1906-07 was ₨1,25,930, as compared with ₨72,123 expended in the previous year. Of this amount, ₨10,000 was a contribution from the Imperial grant towards the restoration of the Spire of the Palace at Mandalay. The bulk of the expenditure was incurred at two centres, namely, ₨93,950 at Mandalay, and ₨28,039 at Pagan. The former represents the religious and ceremonial architecture of the Burmans designed and executed in wood, while at Pagan are congregated masonry temples and shrines, whose prototypes may be looked for in China, Tibet, India, and Ceylon. At Mandalay, ₨80,620 was devoted to the repair and restoration of the buildings connected with the Palace; and, in view of the possible risk of fire, an additional sum of ₨6,840 was spent on the construction of a set of models of the Palace buildings and on the erection of a shed of harmonious architecture to house them.

Of the buildings repaired at Pagan during the past year, the most interesting are the Ngakywè Nadaung and Petleik Pagodas. Both are of unpretentious dimensions, and the architecture of the first bespeaks its Chinese origin. It probably antedates the introduction of the Southern School of Buddhism into Pagan in the eleventh century A. D. It is bulbous in shape, and is crowned by a small chamber, now roofless, which apparently served as the *Sanctum*. The striking peculiarity of this shrine is that its face bricks were moulded to size, were well finished and well baked, and dipped in a kind of green glaze, which cannot now be reproduced. The Petleikpaya or the "Pagoda of the curling leaf" has, around it, an ambulatory corridor, the walls of which, both inside and outside, are decorated with double rows of square terra-cotta reliefs, illustrating a variety of scenes in the life of the Buddha during his former existences. The figures are vigorously modelled and almost as sharp and clear now as when they left the kiln. Their legends, too, which are in the Pali character, are cut clean and distinct, so that every letter that remains of them is easily decipherable. While they afford us authentic and reliable records of the orthodox Buddhist iconography of the eleventh century, they also furnish us with specimens of art of no mean order.

At Pagan, there are Cave Temples, which were intended to be a combined chapel and residence in the torrid climate of the locality. Some are built against the precipitous sides of ravines, while others are hollowed out of sand dunes of alluvial

formation, which are numerous in the neighbourhood, thereby indicating that the channel of the river Irrawaddy has changed its course westward. The Kyaukku Onhmin and the Thamiwhet Onhmin were selected as representative types, and were repaired by the Public Works Department.

For the first time in the history of the Archæological Department, which was created in 1899, conservation works were undertaken at Ava, which was the capital of Burma for nearly four centuries, namely, from 1364 to 1751 A. D., when it was captured by the Talaings. A sum of R1,585 was expended on repairing the Watch Tower attached to the Palace, and a masonry monastery called the Ôkkyaung.

Of the monuments selected for conservation during the year 1906-07, a description is given below of the following:—The Seinnyet and Sapada Pagodas, Pagan (Plate IX); the Mahābodhi Pagoda and Bidagat Taik or Library, Pagan (Plate X); the Ôkkyaung Monastery, Ava (Plate XI); and the Shwenandaw and Salin Monasteries, Mandalay.

Situated half-way between the villages of Myinpagan and Thiyipyitsaya, which were, at one time, centres of Talaing and Indian influence, the Seinnyet Pagoda, a cylindrical structure of the eleventh century, represents a distinct stage in the development of Buddhist religious architecture in Burma, and reflects the streams of influences from China, Tibet, and Ceylon. In this connection, the following Chinese explanation of the symbolism of the different component parts of a pagoda is of great interest:

"A jewelled pagoda, *pao t'a*, of portentous dimensions is supposed, in the Buddhist Cosmos, to tower upwards from the central peak of the sacred Mount Meru, to pierce the loftiest heaven, and to illuminate the boundless ether with effulgent rays proceeding from the three jewels of the law and the revolving wheel with which it is crowned. Speculative symbolism of this kind is carried out in the form of the pagoda. The base, four-sided, represents the abode of the four *Mahârâjâs*, the great guardian Kings of the four quarters, whose figures are seen enthroned here within the open arches. The centre, octagonal, represents the *Tushita* heaven, with eight celestial gods, Indra, Agni and the rest, standing outside as protectors of the eight points of the compass; this is the paradise of the Bodhisats prior to their final descent to the human world as Buddhas, and Maitreya, the coming Buddha, dwells here. The upper storey, circular in form, represents the highest heaven in which the Buddhas reside after attaining complete enlightenment; the figures in niches are the five celestial Buddhas, or Jinas, seated on lotus pedestals."[1]

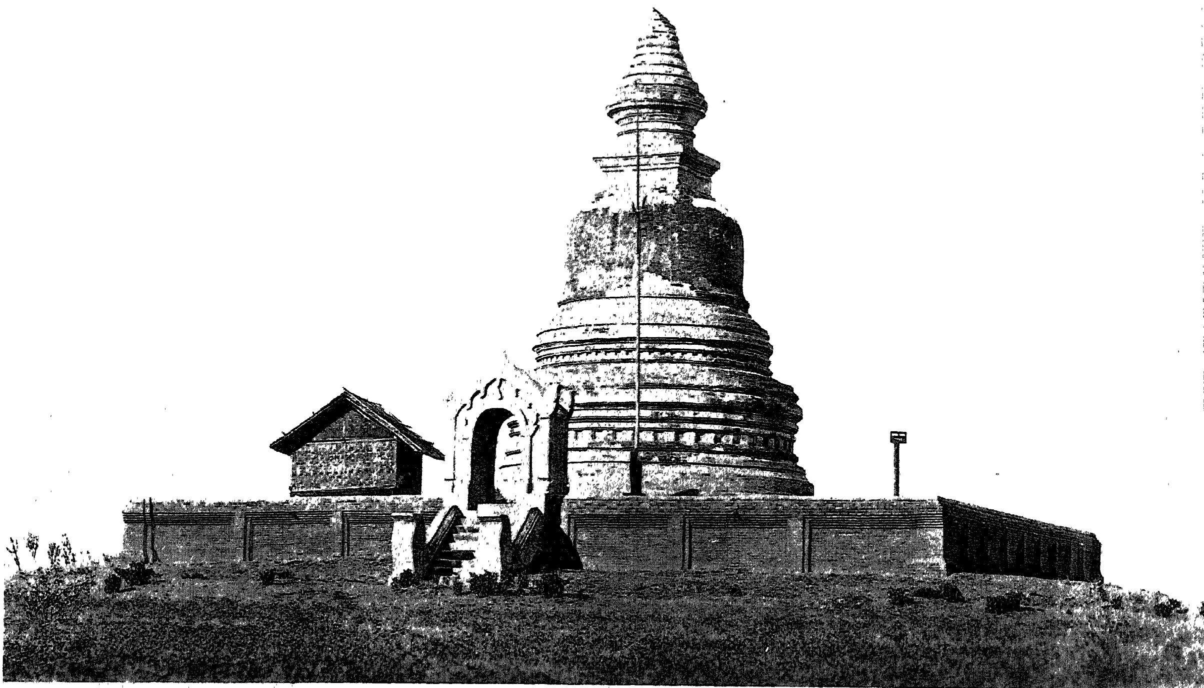
A detailed examination of the Seinnyet Pagoda shows its mixed origin, in which the Chinese element preponderates. Unlike the Shwesandaw Pagoda at Pagan, and the Sinbyumē Paya at Mingun, each of which has five receding terraces representing the five-fold division of Mount Meru, it rests on a triple square basement, which symbolises the abode of the four *Mahârâjâs*. At each corner of the first terrace, is a small *Chaitya* resting on a high plinth. Each corner of the second terrace is decorated by an ornament, which looks like a flower-vase or relic-casket, and which is guarded by the figure of a lion with distinctly Chinese features, while the correspond-

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[1] Bushell's *Chinese Art*, Volume 1, page 62.



(a) SEINNYET PAGODA, PAGAN.



(b) SAPADA PAGODA, PAGAN.

ing decoration on the third terrace is a stunted *Chaitya* guarded by the figure of an animal, whose remains indicate it to be a winged dragon. All the three terraces are fringed with miniature battlements, and are embellished with mouldings in brick and plaster, which are a characteristic feature of the basement of all Burmese religious and ceremonial structures. Then comes the octagonal band encircling the building, which represents the *Tushita* heaven, the abode of all Bodhisats or Buddhas in embryo; but the eight gods Indra, Agni and others, each of whom protects a point of the compass, are absent. The next tier is a circular moulding, which the Burmans call the "*Kyiwaing*" or circular band of copper, but which, the Chinese say, represents the highest empyrean, where Buddhas dwell after fulfilling their sacred mission on earth. Next succeeds the "*Kaunglaung bôn*" or bell-shaped dome, near whose rim is a circle of small battlements, surmounted by a double band of lotus petals. The dome is bisected by a bold moulding, and to the upper fringe of the lower half is attached a row of ogres disgorging chaplets of pearls, a form of ornamentation which is very common in Tibet.[1] Right across the bisectional moulding are small niches facing the cardinal points, which are crowned by miniature structures resembling the Temple at Bodh Gayâ. In each niche sits enshrined the small figure of a Buddha of exquisite proportions in a preaching attitude. The figures represent Kakusandha, Koṇagâmana, Kassapa, and Gautama. In China, Metteyya or Maitreya, the Buddhist Messiah to come, is acknowledged and adored: but, at the present time, he has no votaries in Burma. The upper half of the dome is decorated with a band of lotus, petals, and is surmounted by a foliated capital, which takes the place of a "dhātu-gabbha" or relic chamber in a Sinhalese pagoda. The whole shrine is crowned by a *sikkhâra* or gradually attenuate spire with eleven concentric circles, which assume a slightly different form in the Sapada Pagoda, which was built on the model of a Sinhalese Dagoba (fig. *b*, Plate XVII).

The expenditure incurred on the conservation of this Pagoda was R3,950. Necessary repairs were executed to the terraces and the battlements, to the small subsidiary *Chaityas*, the foliated capital, and the *sikkhâra*. On the eastern face, a hole made by treasure-hunters was arched up, so as to disclose a smaller shrine encased within the larger structure, as in the case of many other pagodas.

In the following century, that is, the twelfth, the Sapada Pagoda was built by a Burmese monk of the same name, who received his ordination in Ceylon and who founded a sect at Pagan during the reign of Narapatisithu (1167-1204 A.D.). It is the prototype of similar structures in the Province, and is a landmark in the history of Buddhism, as it commemorates the religious intercourse between Burma and Ceylon. It rests on a raised platform of 88 feet square, and access to it is obtained by emans of stairways on the eastern and western sides. Its distinctive features are the circular form of its three terraces, the absence of ogres' heads on the bell-shaped dome, the square capital, which is the relic-chamber, and the conical *sikkhâra* ornamented with seven concentric mouldings. The retaining walls and the platform were strengthened, the mouldings on the terraces, the relic-chamber, and the *sikkhâra* were repaired, and the patches of the existing plaster were edged with cement mortar, the whole work costing R2,148.

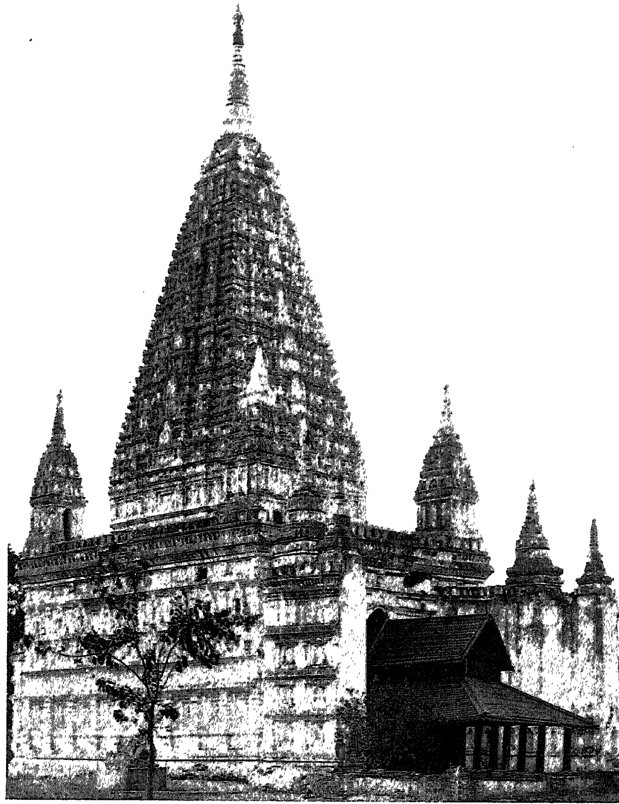
[1]Also in India from the earliest period. [Ed.]

The Mahâbodhi Pagoda is still an object of worship and is in an excellent state of preservation It was built by King Nandaungmya in 1198 A.D., after the model of the Temple at Bodh Gayā in Bengal, and is the only specimen of its class to be found in Burma. According to tradition, a cutting from the original *Bodhi* tree was planted at the back of the Temple, but it died. In front, is a wooden chapel, which will be repaired. The central pyramidal spire, surmounted by an attenuated *sikkhâra,* rests on a rectangular terrace, which enshrines a huge image of Buddha in a sitting attitude. The walls of the terrace and the sides of the spire are cut into square panels, each of which contains a figure of Buddha in one of the conventional attitudes, sitting, standing, or recumbent. It is interesting to note that the upper portion of the terrace is decorated by a frieze of ogres' heads disgorging chaplets of pearls, and that, within the enclosure, have been found traces of subsidiary buildings commemorative of the "Seven Attitudes" of Buddha, assumed by him immediately after his attainment of enlightenment. The repairs executed, which cost R681, were of a petty nature, and consisted of inserting drainage pipes on the terrace, making the whole structure water-tight, and of restoring low circuit walls to keep out cattle.

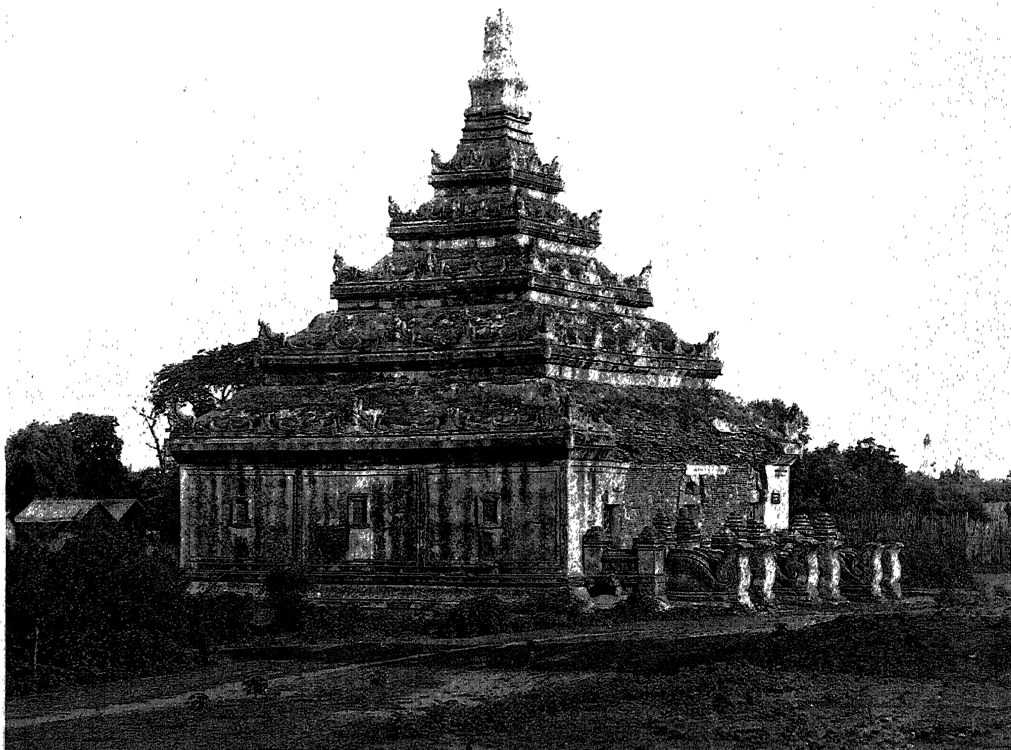
The Bidagat Taik or Library (fig. *b*, Plate X) is one of the buildings selected for conservation, but no work had yet been begun on it, when the year closed. It is a masonry building measuring 51 feet square, with three stairways on its eastern face. Inside, there is a central chamber, with an ambulatory corridor around it, in which Buddhist manuscripts on palm leaf were, at one time, kept. Light and ventilation are afforded by means of three perforated stone windows on each of the sides other than the eastern. Its architectural interest lies in its approximate simulation of forms in wood, in that it is covered by five multiple roofs surmounted by a *dubîkâ* or elongated capital, like the Mandalay Palace Spire, and ornamented with peacock-like finials in plaster carving. Its historical interest resides in the fact that it housed the thirty elephant-loads of Buddhist scriptures in Pali, which Anawrata brought away from Thaton in 1058 A.D., and that it was repaired in 1178 A.D. by King Bodawpaya of the Alompra dynasty.

The simulation of wooden forms of architecture in masonry reaches its highest development in the Ōkkyaung (Plate XI), a monastery at Ava, built, in 1818 A.D., by Nanmadaw Mé Nu, the famous Chief Queen of Bagyidaw, for her religious preceptor, the Nyaunggan Sadaw. Shattered by the earthquake of 1838, it lay in ruins till 1873 when it was restored to its pristine splendour by Sinbyumayin, Queen of Mindôn and daughter of Nanmadaw Mé Nu. Originally intended as the "Lodge" for the "*Sadaw*" or Master, it was constructed on a low elevation, and was surrounded by the residential quarters of junior monks. It is a rectangular structure of 140 by 100 feet and is supported by masonry pillars on the inside, and by arches on the outside, which are 10 feet high. The main building (Pl. XI,*a*) is covered by three receding roofs, the topmost of which is crowned by a *sikkhâra,* while the Chapel (XI,*b*) is a superb structure with seven roofs. The monastery nestles amidst a grove of trees, and strikes one with its harmony, proportion and symmetry, and with its air of calm repose. The Public Works Department has estimated the cost of its repair at R1,166, and work on it will soon be commenced.

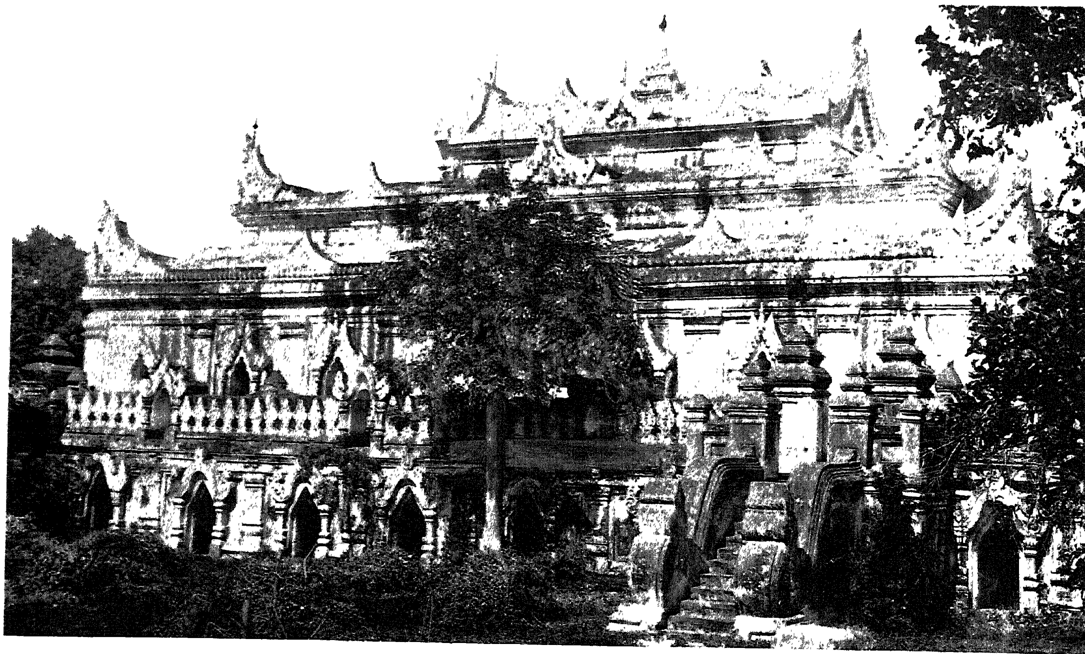
Mandalay, the centre of wooden architecture, is represented in this article by two



(a) MAHÂBODHI PAGODA, PAGAN.



(b) BIDAGAT TAIK, PAGAN.



(a) ÔKKYAUNG (MAIN BUILDING), AVA.



(b) ÔKKYAUNG (CHAPEL), AVA.

buildings, namely, the Shwenandaw Kyaung and the Salin Monastery. The architecture of the former compares very favourably with that of the Queen's Monastery. It was built by King Thibaw in 1880, mainly of materials obtained by dismantling the apartment occupied by his father, Mindon, just before his death, at a cost of about one lakh and twenty thousand rupees. Being a memorial to a great ruler, time, labour, and expense were utterly disregarded, and the entire building was heavily gilt and adorned with *kashi* or glass mosaic work. The petty repairs, which cost only R724, consisted of making the roof water-tight, strengthening the verandah flooring, and renewing, by means of splicing, some of the wooden posts.

The Salin Monastery, which was built by the Salin Princess in 1876, is generally regarded as having the best carving in Burma. Happily, it was not gilt, thereby facilitating the work of preservation by means of earth-oil. Both the roof and flooring were strengthened and made water-tight, and the rotten ends of the rafters were cut away, the cost of repairs amounting to R2,845. Among the carved figures, Indra, in his various attitudes, predominates, and the effect of the carving is much heightened by symmetrical geometrical designs, and by bold arabesque work.

TAW SEIN KO.

EXPLORATION AND RESEARCH.

IN the field of exploration, the two most important undertakings of the year have been those at Kasiā and Sārnāth, both of which sites are now being exhaustively examined. At the *Māthā-Kũar-kā Kōṭ*, close to Kasiā, Dr. Vogel has now completely laid bare the whole of the *large monastery* already partly exhumed in previous years, and has continued the excavation of the *earlier monastery*, which now proves to extend over all the south-west portion of the mound. Among the objects found in this earlier monastery were a fragmentary record of the early Kushaṇa period and a broken Buddha statue with a votive inscription in characters of the sixth century, while in front of it was turned up a gold coin of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya. From the evidence of these and previous finds, Dr. Vogel conjectures that this monastery dates back to the first century of our era, that it was in occupation in the days of the earlier Guptas, and that it was destroyed towards the end of the sixth century.

Besides excavating these two monasteries, Dr. Vogel has also unearthed a number of smaller monuments, mostly *stūpas,* to the south of the central shrine, and three larger buildings in the ground recently acquired by Government outside the mound proper. One of these buildings is a typical monastery ; the other two may have been meant for the accommodation of pilgrims.

The minor finds made during the past season include some 500 or more clay sealings, broken or complete, of which 464 belong to the "Convent of the Great Decease," 9 to other monastic establishments, and the rest to private individuals. In my annual Report for 1905-6 Dr. Vogel pointed out that the presence of sealings in such preponderating numbers from the "Convent of the Great Decease" could not but suggest a very close connection between the Kasiā *Saṅghārāma* and that convent, while at the same time they cast doubt on the supposed identity of the two buildings, for it is difficult to see for what other purpose but that of letters so many seals could have been used. If, then, Kasiā does not represent Kusinārā, the question naturally arises whether we know of any other ancient *Saṅghārāma* with which we can identify it. This question, Dr. Vogel thinks, is now answered by the discovery of a seal die near the *earlier monastery*, bearing the inscription *Śrī-Vishṇudvīpa-vihārē bhikshusaṅghasya*, "of the community of friars at the convent of Holy Vishṇudvīpa." Vishṇudvīpa corresponds with the *Vēṭhadīpa* of the Pāli books, and Dr. Vogel is now of opinion that the remains at Kasiā represent the ancient *Vēṭhadīpa*, which received a portion of

the relics of Buddha after the *mahāparinirvāṇa*. No doubt the evidence of this die is of a very tangible nature; at the same time it must be conceded, as Dr. Vogel himself realises, that the die in question might easily have been brought from elsewhere, and, until further confirmatory evidence is forthcoming, we cannot look upon the question as settled. There yet remain to be examined at Kasiā two important *stūpas*, the *Rāmābhār stūpa* and the one on the *Māthā-Kuar-kā-Kōṭ*, besides a number of other edifices, and it is not too much to hope that something or other will be found which will settle the matter beyond dispute.

In continuing the operations at Sārnāth we had before us two main purposes: first, to deepen the excavations in the immediate vicinity of the Main Shrine after cutting through the concrete pavement; secondly, to widen out the excavations in all directions. Prominent among the buildings which have come to light near the Main Shrine, is a group of admirably constructed *stūpas* close by its south-west corner; and not far from them, but at a still lower level, has also been found part of the plinth of a much larger structure, which, however, has still to be followed up. The stone pavement, which had been partly laid bare around the Aśōka column in the previous season, proved to be composed mainly of slabs cut from a railing of decadent Mauryan style, and it may be surmised that this depression was purposely made, at a time when the ground around had risen, to keep the inscription open to view. On the east, this pavement ends in three steps rising to the level of the concrete floor above.

Most of the area excavated under the floor, to the east of the Main Shrine, is occupied by a large rectangular chamber or court, with a variety of other structures adjoining it. This chamber was surrounded on three sides by a stone railing of Mauryan date, built into the brickwork of the walls. Much of this railing has, unfortunately, perished, but the position of all the columns and crossbars is clearly marked by indentations in the brickwork. One of the coping-stones belonging to this railing was, according to a monumental Prakrit inscription incised on it in the Brāhmī character, presented by a nun named Savahikā; while a short column found close by appears, from two Kushaṇa or early Gupta epigraphs carved on it, to have been used as a lamp-holder in a *gandhakuṭī*. A second column bears two Sanskrit inscriptions in the same script as the above, from which it seems that it was the gift of a monk named Bōdhishēṇa and was afterwards converted into a lamp-post by a certain layman named Bhavarudra.

Among the small antiquities found below the concrete floor may be noticed an interesting capital with Perso-Ionic volutes, and another capital belonging to the Mauryan period, decorated on one side with a group of *dharmachakra* and *triratna* symbols, and with the Bōdhi tree overhung with garlands, the *Vajrāsana*, and a column with Persepolitan bell-shaped capital, on the other.

In a short article regarding these and other excavations, which I contributed to the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, I stated that nothing of a later date than the Kushaṇa period had been found beneath the concrete floor, but this statement must now be modified, as one of the blocks of the stone pavement around the Aśōka column proves to have been taken from an early Gupta building, and the lowest layer of the concrete floor above it can, therefore, hardly be earlier than the later Gupta epoch.

Further out, and beyond the limits of the concrete floor, our excavations were carried to a considerable distance on every side of the Main Shrine, for the most part down to the level, approximately, of the concrete floor, but descending deeper in places. The majority of the architectural remains unearthed consisted, as we naturally expected, of small chapels and *stūpas*, the largest group of which (comprising more than fifty structures) lies to the west of the Main Shrine. A smaller, but more ancient and interesting, group came to light at some distance to the north-east. That this group marks some exceptionally hallowed spot seems certain, not only from the fact that the *stūpas* there are crowded together more thickly than anywhere else, but also from the fact that they have been added to and built over, time and again. Several of these *stūpas* are of peculiar importance, because within the outer and later shells the earlier structures are to be found in practically perfect preservation, while the relic-chambers in others have yielded numbers of sculptures and tablets of sunburnt clay.

But the most attractive of the structures brought to light this year is a large monastery (for there can be little doubt about its character) away to the north-east, beyond the group of *stūpas* described above. The part of this monastery which has so far been unearthed consists of a very fine block of buildings with a spacious entrance facing the east, and a courtyard on the west, surrounded, we may suppose, on the other three sides by buildings generally similar to the block already unearthed. The basement of the monastery is of brick, admirably moulded and carved, and standing to a height of about eight feet. The superstructure was of stone massively constructed; but all of it, save the lowest courses, has fallen, and the ponderous blocks are lying in great heaps over the basement and in the courtyard below. The precise date of this building is not yet fixed, but, on the evidence of style, it may be assigned approximately to the eleventh century A.D.

To the east of this monastery and belonging to it is a spacious court flagged with heavy pavestones, beneath which — at a considerable depth — is another and much earlier monastery. Only a small portion of the western end of this second monastery has, as yet, been exposed, but there seems little doubt that the structure dates back to the Gupta period, and that it will prove to have the same general plan as the monasteries excavated by Dr. Vogel at Kasiā. Yet a third monastery, that has been partly brought to light, is situated near the north-west corner of the site. Its construction is much the same as that of the second monastery, and the upper parts of its walls belong at any rate to the same period; the lower parts are referable to an earlier date.

It thus becomes apparent that in the Gupta period, and probably in earlier ages as well, the northern side of the Sārnāth site was occupied by a row of monasteries, and that on their ruins was afterwards erected the large monastery first described, which seems to have been sufficiently large to extend over them all.

It is unnecessary in this place to notice any of the detached sculptures or minor antiquities found in these monasteries or in other parts of the site above the level of the concrete floor. The fact which our discoveries have now made abundantly clear, is that the most important building age at Sārnāth was the age of the Imperial Guptas; yet more, they establish the existence of an important and wide-reaching

school of sculpture at that epoch, and open up for us an almost new chapter in the history of Indian art. Specimens of Gupta architecture and sculpture have, of course, been known to us for many years past, from different sites in Northern and Western India, but how little the essential characteristics of this school have hitherto been understood, may be gauged from the fact that one of the finest examples of Gupta art has been generally assigned (on the authority of Fergusson)[1] to the eleventh century of our era. I refer to the Dhamēkh Stūpa at Sārnāth. Of the Gupta origin of this famous monument there can now no longer be a shadow of a doubt; for there is not a motif in its decoration which does not find an exact counterpart in one or other of the Gupta sculptures recently unearthed. This, however, is a subject which will deserve to be specially dealt with when the excavations are more advanced.

In the Frontier Province some very valuable discoveries were made by Dr. D. B. Spooner in a small and insignificant mound at the village of Sahribahlōl, near the foot of Takht-i-Bahāi, which he found the villagers exploiting for sculptures. "Of the architectural finds made in this mound," says Dr. Spooner, "the most interesting was a little *stūpa* measuring six feet square. The three friezes on the sides are made up of elephants and Atlases alternating. When first uncovered these were in nearly perfect condition, but unfortunately some person or persons demolished them in our absence, and before it was possible to photograph them, as the *stūpa* had been only partially uncovered at that time. Perhaps next in interest to this, was the row of standing Bōdhisattva figures which we found, badly broken but still *in situ*, along the front of what would appear to have been the central *stūpa*. At either end of this row, and set a little back from the alignment, was a seated Buddha figure; the pedestal of one of them was particularly noteworthy for the delicacy and intricacy of its pattern, and for the unusual naturalness in the postures of the many tiny animals it contained. It was among the débris of the building behind these statues, and along the westernmost side of the mound, where a line of chapels may have stood, that the major portion of our sculptures were obtained. These are of all sizes and of various degrees of excellence, and, moreover, in a variety of materials, stone, and stucco, and what might be called stucco-faced, where the figure is a mere stucco shell filled with soft earth. The most remarkable example of this kind was an apparently female head some six inches in height, wearing an elaborate fringe of curls and adorned with a curious lofty crown with well-defined points. The plaster of which this is made is singularly white and delicate, and only about $\frac{1}{16}$ of an inch in thickness. The modelling is distinctly inferior, but the whole is of great interest, nevertheless. Taking the sculptures as a whole, I have no hesitation in ascribing them to one of the very best periods of the Gandhāra school. The numerous heads found, both stone and stucco, compare very favourably with those in any other collections, and a few of the larger pieces—such for example, as one or two of the seated Buddha figures and the Kubēra and Hāritī statue—would seem inferior to few, if any, of the sculptures of this school yet found. Another point of interest is the large number of well-defined

[1] See *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, pp. 66-8. Sir A. Cunningham's earlier opinion has now been completely vindicated.

Bōdhisattva types encountered. We have several distinct types, repeated with great fidelity to detail, especially in the case of the head-dresses, so that the conviction is forced upon one that they must have been intended to represent individual and particular Bōdhisattvas. That, with increased material, further study will lead to a satisfactory differentiation of these figures, seems reasonable to expect. And, judging by these Sahribahlōl finds, the head-dress will prove to be of special significance in any such enquiry. One is reminded of the passage in the *Amitāyurdhyānasūtra*: 'All beings can recognize either of the two Bōdhisattvas (Avalōkitēśvara and Mahāsthāma) by simply glancing at the marks of their heads.'[1]

"Among the fragmentary sculptures one small piece in particular calls for mention. A mere broken piece of a stone halo, it still preserved its ancient coating of stucco, and this in turn its original painted design, a pattern of radiating rays in gold on a brilliant red background. Many of the sculptures showed traces of colouring or gilding, and some of them elaborate traces, but none of any such interest as this little fragment.

"Of the monastic quadrangle to the east of the great wall, which divided the mound from north to south into two nearly equal halves, there is little need to speak here. The finds from this side were naturally few and of comparatively slight interest, except a couple of copper spoons of excellent design, and a metal leaf still retaining the brilliant colouring with which it was originally adorned. The usual arrangement of cells was found, the only noticeable thing about them being that they were all built of extremly *kachchā* walls, mere unshapen earth mixed with the crushed ends of grain left after threshing. Even the fine stone foundations of the outside walls of this quadrangle, fully four feet wide, show traces of having been built up originally in the same way. But, that wood was used somewhere in the construction, presumably in the roofing, seems certain from the large quantity of charcoal found here and there in the débris, which points also to fire as the primary agent in the destruction of the place. The centre of this quadrangle, however, presents an unexpected feature of considerable interest, namely, another quadrangle, also in stone, which appears, from the presence of a drain leading to the south, to have been a central tank. The curious thing about this, however, is that the outer side is broken into a number of deep bays, whose purpose it is difficult to determine. Possibly further excavations in the neighbourhood will throw some light on the problem."

Another excavation that has yielded results of much value for the history of Buddhist iconographic art is that of the Pet-leak-paya, or 'Pagoda of the curling leaf,' at Pagān, in Burma. This pagoda, as well as another one close by it, known locally as the 'Elder Sister,' had attracted my attention some time ago, by reason of its peculiar shape and character, which distinguished it from those around and pointed to an earlier origin. As only its superstructure was then visible above ground, I made arrangements for the removal of all the débris which enveloped its base, though, when I did so, I had little idea that under this débris would be found such a treasure-house of relics as has now come to light. As the structure now stands, it can, on the strength of epigraphical and other evidence, be assigned with some confidence to the

[1] *S. B. E.*, vol. xlix, p. 187, para. 21, Takakusu's translation.

period of Anawrata—that is, to the time of the Norman conquest of England; but at one or two places, where the brickwork of the basement has broken away, the mouldings of an older structure can be traced beneath. This fact is of some interest, because it confirms a supposition, already formed on other and stronger grounds, that Buddhist buildings existed at Pagān before the reign of Anawrata, and that that monarch was responsible, not for the introduction, but for the development of that religion in Upper Burma

Around the Pagoda proper excavations have now revealed the existence of an arched corridor or ambulatory, the walls of which, both inside and outside, are decorated with double rows of square terra-cotta reliefs, illustrating a variety of scenes in the life of the Buddha during his former existences.

Illustrations of these Jātaka stories from the mediæval epoch were not altogether unknown in Burma before the present find, for there is quite a long series of them on the Ananda and Shwezigon Pagodas at Pagān; but these illustrations were executed on enamelled tiles of Chinese manufacture, the technique of which was of the coarsest description, and their surface, besides, has been much damaged by age and illtreatment; so that it is well nigh impossible in many cases to make out even the figures, while as often as not the legends they bear are quite illegible. In the new Pet-leak-paya plaques, on the other hand, the figures are vigorously modelled and almost as sharp and clear now as when they left the kiln. Their inscriptions, too, which are in the Pali character, are cut clean and distinct, so that every letter that remains of them is easily decipherable. The various stories, of course, are handled in the conventional manner of the day, and, as a result, cannot avoid a stereotyped appearance; but this notwithstanding, the spirited touch of the artist shows itself in much of the modelling.

"The custom," writes Dr. Konow, "of decorating *stūpas* with illustrations from the Jātakas is, of course, a very old one in India. We meet with it both at Bharhut and Sāñchi and in the Gandhāra sculptures. There would seem to be several distinct schools represented in these illustrations; for in the Gandhāra sculptures the story depicted differs from that found in Central India; while a third school can probably be distinguished in Burma, though it is too early to state this definitely before all the plaques have been carefully examined. So far, however, as I can see now, there is little probability of these Burmese plaques becoming of importance for the identification of sculptures on old Indian *stūpas*. They will, on the other hand, certainly prove of great interest for the history of mediæval Buddhist iconography. The conventional and stereotyped character of the representation of the Jātaka scenes makes it probable that parallels may some day be traced in India.

"The names of the Jātakas, and their numbers, broadly agree with Fausböll's edition, just as is the case with the Mangalacheti plaques. This fact is of interest, because it shows that the Jātakas were told in Pagān in the form in which they occur in the Jātaka-commentary of Ceylon. In some few cases there is, it is true, a slight difference between Fausböll's edition and our plaques. Thus, Jātaka 296, which is called the *Samuddajātaka* in Fausböll's manuscripts, here occurs under the name of *Anantapāyijātaka*, taken from the beginning of the second *gāthā* of the tale. This discrepancy in the names of the Jātakas is no new fact. It is not greater than that which exists in the various manuscripts made use of by Professor Fausböll.

"Of still greater interest is the fact that the Pet-leak plaques portray some Jātakas which do not occur in Fausböll's manuscripts. So far as I have been able to examine the plaques, it appears that the titles and numbers closely agree with Fausböll's edition up to Jātaka 496, the *Bhikkhāparamparajātaka*. But here the plaques insert three new Jātakas, the *Vēlāma* (497), the *Mahāgōvinda* (498), and the *Sumēdhapaṇḍita-jātakas* (499). The *Mātaṅgajātaka*, which is No. 497 in Fausböll's edition, is accordingly No. 500 in the Pet-leak collection. Then the numbering runs on in the same way in both series up to the *Nimijātaka* (Fausböll 541 = Pet-leak 544), after which a new Jātaka, the *Mahōsadhajātaka*, is again inserted, as No. 545. *Vēlāma* is mentioned in the introduction to the *Khadiraṅgārajātaka* (J.A., i, p. 228); *Mahāgōvinda*, *Sumēdhapaṇḍita*, and *Mahōsadha* are all mentioned as Bōdhisattas in the *Nidānakathā*. We do not know why the tales about the Buddha's doings in these births have not been incorporated in the recension of the Jātakas published by Fausböll. The Pet-leak plaques show that they were all found in the collection of birth-stories current in Pagān at the time when the Pet-leak pagoda was erected. We are unable as yet to determine with certainty when this was done, but it cannot well have been later than the reign of King Anawrata, for votive tablets bearing his name have been unearthed together with the plaques.

"Several hundred of these Jātaka illustrations have already been found at the Pet-leak pagoda, and, as the sister pagoda mentioned above, which appears to be of an almost precisely similar character, has still to be excavated, there is every reason to hope that the number will be doubled before the site is exhausted".[1]

In the Madras Presidency, Mr. Rea has continued the excavations at Amarāvatī, described in last year's Annual, and has unearthed there a large number of marble rails, sculptures, inscriptions, and other miscellaneous antiquities, an account of which will appear in a subsequent Report. A fact of much interest connected with these discoveries is that several of the inscriptions on the newly-found rail-posts date from the Mauryan epoch, and prove that at that early date the Buddhists were already in occupation of the famous site of Amarāvatī.

Another discovery in the Madras Presidency that deserves notice, is that of some ancient caves, with beds chiselled out of the rock, that have recently been found in the Madura and Tinnevelly Districts. One such cave, situated at Marugāltalai, ten miles from Palamcottah, has already been known for some time. But the last year brought five new ones to light in the Madura District, one on the Anaimalai hill, six miles north-east of Madura, and four on the Kaḷugumalai hill, eight miles from Melūr. They all appear to be natural caves with beds chiselled in the rock. The popular name for these beds is *Pañchapāṇḍavar-padukkai*, 'the beds of the five Pāṇḍavas', in accordance with the common custom in these parts of attributing everything that is ancient to the Pāṇḍavas. These caves are probably connected with the earliest history of Buddhism in Southern India. They contain some few inscriptions in old Brāhmī character. "The estampages," says Dr. Konow, "are too imperfect to make it possible to read them, and I am not even certain that they are written in monumental Prakrit, and not in a

[1] *J. R. A. S.*, Oct. 1907, pp. 1004 *sq.*

Dravidian dialect. One of them seems to run:—Chānatāritānā kōṭūpikāna, which apparently means 'of the Chānatārita householders'. If my reading and interpretation are correct, the form *kōṭūpikāna* shows certain influence of the Dravidian idiom of the district. The alphabet is, in most characteristics, identical with that in use in the Aśōka edicts. The only point of interest is the form of the letter *ma*, which agrees with that in use in old Burmese."

In Bengal, owing to the unfortunate absence of Dr. Bloch on sick leave, the exploration of Rājagṛiha, which had opened with such promise in the previous season, could not be resumed. The work, however, of excavating the Black Pagoda at Kōnārak continued uninterruptedly, and is now nearing its close. While the 'Dancing Hall' and *maṇḍapa* of the temple were being cleared, it was merely a matter of ladling out sand and carting it away; but as soon as the shrine was reached, the undertaking entered on a far more laborious phase, as the spire above it had long ago collapsed and buried the sanctum in a vast heap of débris more than fifty feet high. Fortunately, it was possible to lay down a light railway and remove all the most colossal blocks of stone by the aid of a running crane, with the result that the work has been pushed on this season far more rapidly than would otherwise have been possible, and the whole of this stupendous temple—all at least that remains of it—is once more exposed to view. It is, indeed, an imposing and magnificent fabric. The *garbhagṛiha*, which is still standing to a third, roughly, of its original height, proves to be decorated with the same class of erotic reliefs as the rest of the temple, but it possesses also large niches on the north, south, and west sides, in which statues were placed, while below them are doorways giving access to the shrine. Among the débris around the spire have been found some twenty statues, of the same beautiful green chlorite stone that is used in the construction of the temple, and of excellent workmanship. Among them may be noticed, in particular, one of Bāla-Kṛishṇa sitting in a chair which is being gently rocked by attendant figures. The chains by which this chair is suspended are cut with such remarkable skill that it is difficult to believe they are not of metal. Another statue in a wonderfully fine state of preservation represents Vishṇu standing on a lotus pedestal beneath a trefoil arch. The rest of the collection comprises, among others, statues of Sūrya, Vishṇu, Śiva, Yamarāja, Ṛishis, an Āchārya with students round him, and the river Ganges. An account of these important finds will appear in a later Report, when the excavations are nearer to completion.

It remains to mention, in conclusion, some not unimportant discoveries that have been made in the course of the past year without the help of the spade. One of these relates to Ghaṭiyālā, a spot of much interest about twenty-two miles west of Jodhpur. Here Mr. Bhandarkar found a *lāṭ* or pillar, consisting of three separate pieces one above the other, the whole surmounted by a capital with four images of Gaṇapati, facing the cardinal points. On the shaft of the column are four inscriptions, from which we learn that it was erected by Kakkuka, of the feudatory Pratīhāra dynasty. These records also tell us that the old name of the place was Rōhiṁsakūpa, and that it was infested by Ābhīras and was consequently left almost desolate, but that Kakkuka routed them and repeopled the place.

Another site to be noticed is that of Ōsiā, thirty-two miles north of Jodhpur. Round about the village are the remains of twelve temples, one of them Jaina and the rest Vaishṇava. "They resemble in style," says Mr. Bhandarkar; "those found at Eraṇ and Paṭhārī in the Central Provinces, and Jhālrāpaṭṭaṇa and Āṁvāṁ in Rajputana. In a porch of the Jaina temple is an inscription which is unfortunately mutilated, but the portion of it preserved speaks of the temple as existing in Ūkēśa (Ōsiā) in the time of Vatsarāja of the (Imperial) Pratīhāra dynasty. Vatsarāja is doubtless the same prince of that name who was a contemporary of the Rāshṭrakūṭa sovereigns, Gōvinda II and Dhruva, and for whom the date 705 Śaka (A.D. 783) has been furnished by the Jaina Harivaṁsa." A feature worthy of remark in these temples is the prominence given to Kubēra, god of riches, who is figured with Gaṇēśa on the lintels of the shrine doors, in the interior of the sancta, on the outside walls of the shrines, and on the front of the raised terraces on which the temples stand. Some scenes in the life of Kṛishṇa are also depicted, such as the uplifting of Gōvardhana, the release of the Elephant, and so forth.

Two ancient temples of exactly the same style as those at Ōsiā were also found at Buchkalā in the Bilār district, and one of them has an inscription dated Saṁvat 892, which refers itself to the reign of Śrī-Nāgabhaṭṭa, son of Śrī-Vatsarāja. This is the first date, furnished by an inscription, of a prince of the Imperial Pratīhāra dynasty earlier than Bhōja I.

In Kashmir too a most useful piece of work has been done by Mr. Nicholls in surveying the most important examples of the wooden architecture of that country. Practically nothing had been done in this direction by earlier archæologists, and a long felt want is now supplied by the carefully measured drawings which Mr. Nicholls publishes in the present Report. This work will soon, it is hoped, be followed by an effort to deal more accurately and exhaustively with the older stone buildings of Kashmir. These have already been illustrated in some detail by Gen. Cunningham, Lieutenant Cole and others, but the plans and drawings which they have left us are, unfortunately, as I have satisfied myself by personal observations and measurements, full of errors, while many of the ideas that are prevalent regarding the purpose, construction, and decoration of these buildings are plainly untenable.

One point only in Mr. Nicholls' article appears to me to call for remark. In speaking of the tomb of Madanī near Śrīnagar, he states that its date is determined by the inscription on the mosque hard by, which records its erection in A.D. 1444. Mr. Nicholls is perfectly correct in ascribing the tomb to the same period as the mosque, but he is undoubtedly wrong in assuming that the tile work on the porch belongs to the same epoch. This is sufficiently manifest, to my mind, from a consideration of the fabric, technique and colouring of the tiles, which proclaim them to be of the best Mughal period; but it is proved beyond dispute by another inscription in Persian, which tells us that the entrance to the tomb was added by Shāh Jahān:

هزار شکر که دروازه نباشد خوش - بعهد شاه جهان زینت ملک ,سپاه -

Among the other special articles contributed to this section, I should like to invite particular attention to Dr. Vogel's admirable discussion of the Mathurā School

of Sculpture. This article is to be continued in a future Report, but one fact which Dr. Vogel has already made abundantly clear, is that the Mathurā School of Art is largely dependent upon that of Gandhāra. Let it not be supposed that the Mathurā School owed its origin, in the first instance, to Gandhāra, or that either school sprang suddenly into existence like an Athene fully armed. So far from this being the case, the Mathurā School can be shown to have existed at least as far back as the second century B.C., to which epoch several sculptures in the local Museum belong. The same, also, is undoubtedly true of the Gandhāra School; for we must presuppose for it a prolonged development under Hellenistic influences on Indian soil, before it reached the highly conventional phase in which we know it. The important deduction, however, which results from Dr. Vogel's inquiries is that the Mathurā School had come under the influence of fully developed Gandhāra art in the time of the early Kushaṇas, and consequently that the art of Gandhāra itself must be pushed back to a considerably earlier period; sufficiently far, that is, to account for the relatively great decadence of the Mathurā as compared with the Gandhāra work.

J. H. MARSHALL.

EXCAVATIONS AT KASIĀ.

AN account of my excavations at the Māthā Kũar kā Kôt near Kasiā in the cold seasons of 1904-05 and 1905-06 has appeared in the Annual Reports for those years.[1] In the course of last year's explorations it became evident that the group of Buddhist monuments extended beyond the boundaries of the mound, covering a much larger area than could be foreseen. I, therefore, proposed that the excavation of the site should be continued in the winter of 1905-06, and that a strip of land round the mound proper should be acquired by Government, so as to enable me to explore the outlying buildings also. Before resuming the work, it appeared necessary to remove the débris of former excavations, which had been thrown along the outskirts of the mound in the supposition that these marked the limits of the site.

My proposals met with the approval of the Provincial Government, and a sum of Rs. 3,700 was sanctioned for the work. This sum included Rs. 500 for the acquisition of land, of which Rs. 108-14-8 was spent, the chief land-owner declining to accept any compensation. The area of land acquired amounts to 9 acres, to which are to be added 3 acres acquired by the Public Works Department for the removal of débris. The mound proper which came into the possession of Government in 1893, covers 3 acres, so that the whole area now available for excavation, enclosed by a quadrangle of 990′ by 700′, extends over 15 acres. For the removal of débris Rs. 800 was provided in the estimate, but this sum proved to be sufficient only for clearing the south-west end and a portion of the northern side of the mound. This part of the work was done by the Public Works Department prior to my arrival at Kasiā. I may mention here that, owing to a misunderstanding, the débris was removed to a place south-west of the mound, between the latter and the Bōdhi image known as Māthā Kũar, instead of being thrown outside the boundary marked by he brick wall which had been traced in the previous season. There is no immediate intention to explore the ground which is now covered with this débris, but, as it is situated within the ancient enclosure, there exists the possibility of its containing ancient remains which in the future it may become desirable to unearth.

After de ucting the amounts mentioned above and Rs. 200 paid to the Brahman *pujārī* as compensation for loss of income derived from the Buddhist temple, there

[1] *A. S. R.*, 1904-05, pp. 43 ff. and 1905-06, pp. 61 ff.

PREVIOUS EXCAVATIONS
EXCAVATIONS 1906-07.

GENERAL PLAN.

FEET 10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 100 150 200 FEET

A B C D E F L M O



remains Rs. 2,470-1-1 spent on the excavations proper. This sum includes the wages of masons employed in protecting the tops of the walls of the monastery D with concrete, a work which appeared necessary for the preservation of this building. The materials were supplied and paid for by the Public Works Department, who reported the work completed by the end of March 1907. It is intended to protect the walls of the old monastery also by laying the upper two courses in mortar so as to prevent the percolation of rain water and consequent disintegration.

The excavations were started on the 3rd December, 1906, and carried on without interruption till the end of February. My clerk, Babu Gursaran Das Mehta, rendered me much help in the supervision of the workmen during the first month and was left by me in charge of the work during Christmas week, when I proceeded to Benares. He had to return to Lahore in the beginning of January owing to his transfer to the office of the Examiner of Accounts, Public Works Department. Unfortunately my head draftsman was prevented from joining me after Christmas owing to an eye complaint, which necessitated his taking leave for three months. My photographer, Ghulam Nabi, had therefore to plot the buildings newly excavated on the general plan in addition to his other work. Four separate drawings of these buildings were prepared by my second draftsman, Bhura Mall.

To Mr. B. C. Lal, Executive Engineer, Gorakhpur Division, and Mr. W. C. C. Francis, District Surveyor, both stationed at Gorakhpur, I wish to express my thanks for their assistance and advice in carrying out the repairs mentioned above. As, however, these officers can only pay occasional visits to Kasiā, it is highly desirable that a sub-overseer should be stationed again at that place as in former years. A special chaukidār has now been appointed on the site by the Public Works Department, which, it is hoped, will prevent any wilful damage being done to the ancient buildings.

Though I felt handicapped by the reductions in my staff, the results of this year's excavations are by no means unsatisfactory. The excavation of the large monastery D was brought to an end, the central courtyard and adjoining rows of cells being completely cleared of débris. The measures taken for the conservation of this edifice have already been noted. For its description I may refer to my previously published reports. To the south of D an earlier monastery had been discovered and its northern portion (L-M) explored in last year's excavations. This building, which was found to extend as far as the south-west end of the mound, has now been completely exposed. In the course of its excavation some inscribed documents were found, which help us approximately to fix its date. The space between the ancient monastery and the Nirvāṇa temple, which once formed an inner courtyard, was cleared down to the pavement, and the exploration of the southern group of minor monuments continued.

The excavation of the detached monastery (E), situated to the north-east of the main group of monuments which had been traced in the previous season, has likewise been completed. To the north of the main group I found two more buildings of the monastery type (I and J) adjoining each other and facing south. These two buildings are separated from the main group by a heavy brick wall, which starts from the north-east corner of monastery D and has been referred to in my previous paper. This wall was traced for a distance of 200 feet, but as yet it is uncertain whether it is connected with the wall running north from the main *stūpa* A.

I now proceed to give a detailed account of the monuments newly unearthed, after which the objects brought to light in the course of the work will be separately noted. From my account of the monuments I wish to exclude the southernmost group of buildings, as their excavation is still in course of progress, and at the present stage their description would be attended with much uncertainty.

MONUMENTS.

Monastery N—O.

The northern portion of the early monastery, which was excavated in 1904-05, is composed of two distinct buildings. That to the east (L on Pl. XIII), opposite the Nirvāṇa temple, consists of four rows each of three cells grouped round a square court-yard, the centre of which is marked by a well. The western building (M) likewise contains a court-yard, which is provided with a small water tank and enclosed to the north and west by a series of five chambers larger in size than those of the other edifice.

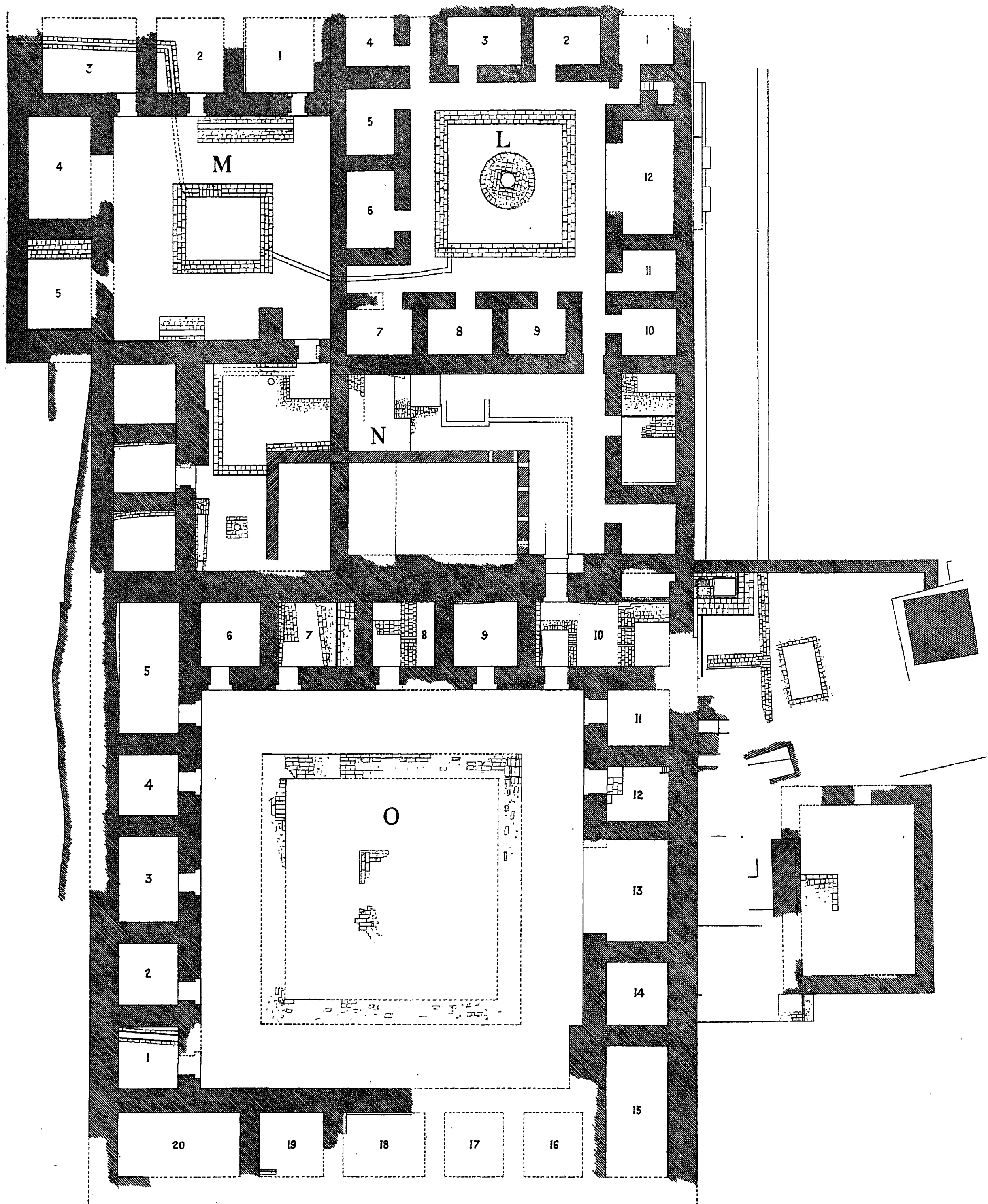
It will be seen that both from L and M a doorway leads into the southern portion of the old monastery which has been excavated in the year under report. Here, also, we notice two distinct structures, N and O, so that the whole of the old monastery may be said to consist of four buildings adjoining each other and forming one compact block.

The central portion, marked N, contains a rectangular space enclosed by a low wall, which along the east side is provided with a series of depressions placed at regular distances. We may assume that from this low wall once rose a line of wooden posts supporting a wooden roof and thus forming an open hall. The fact that this hall was exposed to view precludes the possibility of its having served the purpose of a Sabbath Hall (Skr. *pōsathāgāra*). With more probability it may be surmised to represent the refectory—a no less essential part of a Buddhist convent. This supposition receives some support from the presence of two large earthenware vessels found *in situ* immediately outside this hall. One of them measures 60 cm. in diameter at its top.

The western side of N contains what from the plan would appear to be a series of three cells. The walls, however, separating the supposed cells are beneath the floor level, and, for this reason, must be either foundation walls or, more probably, remains of some earlier structure. That in reality we have only one large room on this side of N, follows from the circumstance that there is only one doorway in the centre of the east wall giving access to it from the courtyard. It should be mentioned here that large quantities of broken pottery were found in the corner formed by the outer (west) wall of N and the southern wall of room M5. An iron spoon found on the same spot would likewise seem to have served culinary purposes.

On the east side of N we find two rooms, which form, as it were, a continuation of the eastern row of cells of L. One of these two rooms has the same shape and nearly the same size as the entrance room, L12. In it some earthenware vessels were found, together with a clay seal-die. From their position it is evident that these objects were in actual use when the building was destroyed. This point is of special

KASIA EXCAVATIONS.



MONASTERY L-O.

interest as the seal-die contains an inscription which can be approximately dated. Below the floor-level were found remains of walls evidently belonging to a little shrine which had fallen to ruins at the time when the monastery was built.

The southern-most portion (O) of the old monastery presents the usual arrangement of a *chatuḥśāla* with four rows of cells enclosing an inner courtyard (Pl. XIV). The building is approximately square, measuring nearly 110′ in each direction, and is of about the same size as the monastery of Sārnāth excavated by Major Kittoe.[1] The width of the outer walls is about 5′, the walls round the courtyard are 4′ 2″ and those between the cells 3′ 6″ wide. They are built of bricks measuring 14″ by 8½″ to 9″ by 2″ to 2½″, which is the same size as found in the early *stūpa* plinth. The walls are best preserved on the north and east sides; the north wall of room O 6 has the maximum height of 8′ 5″. They are 6′ 6″ high in the north-east corner of the courtyard. Towards the south they diminish in height. Those of the southern row of cells could only partially be traced below the original floor-level, and the outer wall on this side has entirely disappeared. In places (*e.g.*, in rooms O 9 and 10) patches of plaster were found still adhering to the walls.

The building must once have been covered with a flat, terraced roof, large pieces of which turned up among the débris. The same, as noted in my previous report, is the case with monastery L, but in M and N no remains of terraced roofing were found. Here, it would seem, the material used for the roof was wood. We may further surmise that in O the courtyard also was partly covered over. Along its northern side we find traces of a low wall, which, as we have assumed in the parallel instance of L, must have supported the wooden posts of a colonnade forming a covered passage or verandah in front of the cells. It should be noted that the space between the wall in question and the cells is paved with concrete, whereas the open space comprised within the supposed verandah and, therefore, exposed to the rain has a pavement of brick tiles, which in the north-west and north-east corners is partly preserved. Towards the centre of the square some indistinct masonry remains were found, which perhaps represent the north-west corner of the base of a small *stūpa*. Some fragments of bevelled bricks found here seem to belong to such a monument.

The number of cells on each side of the building is five and their total number consequently twenty, if we may assume that the arrangement of the southern row was similar to that of the three which are preserved. It will be seen that in the present instance we do not find each row of cells separated from its neighbour by a closet, as we have had occasion to notice in describing the buildings D and L. Obviously those closets were constructed in order to provide a communication between the corner rooms and the courtyard. In the case of O, this object has been obtained in a simpler manner. Whereas here also the cells in general are approximately square, measuring about 10′ in both directions, the corner chambers have an oblong shape, their length amounting to more than double their breadth. In this manner it was possible to provide them with doorways opening out on the courtyard. We may assume that these large-sized corner-rooms served a different purpose from that of the cells of the ordinary type. In the case of the north-east corner room we have, indeed, evidence to that effect. The eastern side of this room is occupied by a masonry platform, 9″ high, provided

[1] *A. S. R.*, Vol. I, p. 127, Plate XXXII.

with two grooves, which seem to indicate the previous existence of a wooden framework. When clearing the room, a charred beam was found lying from east to west. Along the north side of the low platform just noticed there is a brick structure, measuring 1′ 6″ in height, 2′ 11″ in width and 9′ in length, and presenting the appearance of a bench. It is not built against the north wall of the room, but between it and the wall there remains a narrow space, apparently a drain, 1′ 10″ deep. We further notice that at the south-west corner of this room the floor shows a depression enclosed within a low wall.

It will be seen from the subjoined plan that, besides the four corner rooms, there are two chambers which exceed the ordinary size, namely, those in the centre of the western and eastern rows, Nos. 3 and 13. The result is that some of the other cells on these two sides are below the average, especially Nos. 11 and 12. From the analogy of the monasteries D and L, we may assume that No. 13 represents the entrance room, though here no distinct traces of a gateway remain. It will be noticed that the east wall, at a distance of 32 feet from the south-east corner, forms a right angle with a wall running eastwards for a distance of about 20′. This wall evidently belongs to a projection of the kind usually found at the main entrance of a Buddhist monastery. In the present case, however, we find in connection with this projection a rectangular chamber of much larger size than any of the rooms in the monastery proper. It has a narrow doorway in its northern wall. The position of this hall, apparently in front of the main entrance of monastery O, is difficult to account for. As to its purpose, I feel inclined to regard it as a Sabbath Hall (*Pōsaṭhāgāra*), which forms an indispensable attribute of a monastic establishment.

Anyhow, the large size of room No. 13 can be best explained on the assumption that the main entrance to the building was on this side. This agrees with Hiuen Tsiang's description of a *saṅghārāma* winding up with this sentence: "The doors open towards the east; the royal throne also faces the east." The mention of "a royal throne" may, at first sight, seem out of place in the description of a Buddhist monastery. The following, I believe, affords a clue as to its true meaning in this connection. We noticed that the central room of the western row also exceeds the size of an ordinary monk's cell. In clearing this room, remnants of a large-sized terra-cotta Buddha image came to light, together with a fragment of an inscribed stone slab. These finds make it highly probable that the room in question served the purpose of a chapel. It is interesting to note that in monastery D, also, the room on the west side, opposite the entrance, is larger in size than the others. In this connection I may recall that Mr. Thomas, when completing Major Kittoe's excavation of the Sārnāth monastery, discovered in the central room on the south side "a square, elaborately corniced block" which he believed to have been the throne for a seated figure of Buddha.[1] Cunningham, on the other hand, inclined to the opinion "that it was the seat of the teacher for the daily reading and expounding of the Buddhist scriptures." We are now in a position to say that Thomas' explanation is presumably the right one, and that the room marked as "hall" in Cunningham's plan is the chapel, whereas the one opposite marked as "chapel" is in reality the entrance room. That indeed the entrance of the building was to the north may be

[1] *A. S. R.*, Vol. I, p. 127. Plate XXXII.

KASIA EXCAVATIONS.



PLATE X

inferred from the projection shown on the plan, as well as from the position of Jagat Singh's *stūpa*. For it is highly probable that Kittoe's monastery belongs to this monument just as the so-called hospital—in reality another convent—belongs to the Dhamēkh.

All evidence points to the fact that the chapel of a Buddhist convent is to be sought right opposite the main entrance. It follows that, as the *saṅghārāma*, according to Hiuen Tsiang, ought to face east, the chapel will have the same orientation, and we are led to the conclusion that his "royal throne" (used as *pars pro toto*) is nothing but the *siṁhāsana* of the Buddha image enshrined in that chapel. In the Sārnāth monastery this *siṁhāsana* was still found *in situ;* but there the orientation of both monastery and chapel is north instead of east. It seems to me highly probable that the orientation of the *saṅghārāma* was originally determined by the position of the Buddha image placed in the chapel. It should be remembered that images representing Buddha at the moment of his enlightenment are the most common, and that such images ought to face east in accordance with the tradition that Śākyamuni himself was seated with his face eastward when he attained Buddha-hood.[1]

In the course of excavation, we were fortunate enough to collect a number of inscribed objects which, in addition to those found previously, enable us to fix approximately the date of the old monastery L-O. Oldest among these is the fragment, already mentioned, which came to light in the chapel O3. From its find-place we may conclude that probably it made part of an inscription recording the foundation of the convent. The preserved portion, however, contains only four *aksharas*, three of which are injured, so that it is impossible to make out the purport of the epigraph. I read them *ya ku śa na*. The last three syllables suggest a restoration *Kuśana*[*gara*]. So much is certain that the character is *Brāhmī* of the early Kushaṇa type. If, therefore, my supposition is correct, the foundation of the old monastery would fall about the time of Kanishka, the great patron of Buddhism.

As regards the period at which the building ceased to exist, we can speak with greater confidence. In the courtyard outside the chapel were found numerous fragments of a Buddha statuette in red sandstone. It shows Buddha standing, his right hand raised in the attitude of imparting protection (*abhaya-mudrā*), the left holding the hem of his robe. The base contains a dedicatory inscription in two lines which I read : *Dēyadharmō ya*[*ṁ Śā*]*kyabhikshōḥ*(*r*) *Bhadanta-Suvīrasya kṛiti*[*r*] (2)*Dinnasya* "This (is) the pious gift of the Buddhist friar, the venerable Suvīra, [and] the work of Dinna." This short inscription is of particular interest, because it enables us to restore the final portion of the inscription on the colossal statue of the dying Buddha. The latter has been read by Dr. J. F. Fleet *Dēyadharmō yaṁ mahāvihārasvāminō Haribalasya* (2) *pratimā chēyaṁ ghaṭitā Dinē...māsvarēṇa.* A comparison of the two epigraphs at once will show that both belong to the same period. The first five *aksharas* are almost identical. Either of them consists of two portions, one containing the name of the donor, the other that of the maker. On the Nirvāṇa image we find at the end of each sentence a slightly curved line which evidently is meant for a stop. In the other inscription we find a similar sign between the words *Suvīrasya* and *kṛiti*. In the concluding portion of the Nirvāṇa inscription I propose to supply *na* for the missing syllable, and for the rest to adopt Dr. Fleet's reading, except that for *sva*

[1] Cf. *A. S. R.*, 1905-06, p. 76.

I read *thu*. In the *akshara* preceding the supplied *na* I believe I can distinguish traces of a second *n* beneath *nē*. We thus obtain the following reading: *Pratimā chēyaṁ ghaṭitā Dinnēna Māthurēna.* "And this image [was] wrought by Dinna of Mathurā."

Both these images, therefore, not only belong to the same period, but were produced by the same workman. The circumstance that this workman came from Mathurā is another proof of the great importance of the school of sculpture which flourished in that town during the Kushaṇa and Gupta periods. If there remains any doubt with regard to the proposed restoration, it ought to be removed by the fact that the Buddha statuette found near the chapel of the old monastery is made of the well-known spotted red sandstone exclusively used by the Mathurā sculptors.

The Nirvāṇa inscription Dr. Fleet assigns to the end of the fifth century, and we must assume the same date for the Buddha statuette. It was found broken in numerous small fragments, as if it had been crushed by some heavy object, possibly a beam of the verandah. On the other hand, it is remarkable that the surface does not show any signs of disintegration and that the cutting of the letters is in general very sharp. Considering the nature of the stone in which it is made, we may conclude that the image had not been in use as an object of worship for a very long time, when it shared in the destruction of the sanctuary in which it was placed.

Among the inscribed objects noted in my previous paper there is an inscribed seal-die of clay, which was found in cell No. L 11. It shows a palm-tree between two indistinct objects, and beneath it the legend [*Ā*]*ryāshṭa-vṛiddhai*, in characters of about the fifth century. It is not a little curious that in the larger of the two rooms on the east end of N a similar die was found bearing the same symbol and the same legend. The only difference is that on the newly-found specimen the letters are more distinct in shape. Whatever the meaning of the legend may be, it is evident that these dies were in actual use at the time when the edifice to which they belong became destroyed. They, therefore, point to the same conclusion as the inscribed statuette, namely, that the destruction of the old convent happened about A.D. 500.

Two objects, though found outside the old monastery, are also of interest in deciding the date of this building. One is a gold coin[1] of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya (c.A.D. 400), which was found on the pavement of the courtyard between the old convent and the temple of the dying Buddha. From its position it would seem to have been lost by its owner in the conflagration which enveloped the former building. As the coin is much worn, the time during which it was current can hardly have been less than a century. Thus it may be considered to confirm the conclusion arrived at above.

The other object is of a less common type, and, as will be shown in the sequel, of special interest for the identification of the Kasiā site. Here it will suffice to note that it is an inscribed seal-die of baked clay, which was found at a distance of 19′ 6″ from the east wall of O, near the south-east corner of the projecting structure and at a depth of 3′ 6″ below the surface of the mound. Dr. Fleet agrees with me that this die must be of approximately the same date as the clay seals of the Mahāparinirvāṇa and Makutabandha[na] monasteries discussed in my previous paper, *viz.* c. A. D. 400. Epigraphical evidence, therefore, shows that the early monastery of the

[1] The coin is of the archer type, class II, variety A a (I), weight 120.5. *Cf.* V. A. Smith, *J. R. A. S.*, 1889, p. 80, and 1893, p. 104.

Kasiā site most probably was founded in the days of the early Kushaṇa rulers, that certainly it flourished under the great Gupta emperors and ceased to exist about A.D. 500. It is a point worth noticing that the time of its destruction coincides with that of the Hun invasions which harassed the Gupta empire in the fifth and sixth centuries.

Our conclusions as to the age of the old monastery have a distinct bearing on that of the other buildings of the site. It was noted in my previous paper that from the south-east corner of X there runs a wall eastward, which forms the southern enclosure of the courtyard in front of the Nirvāṇa temple. This wall is continued and encloses also the group of minor monuments to the south of that temple. These monuments, therefore, must have existed contemporaneous with the old monastery, and probably their destruction also coincided. If, then, the accumulation of small *stūpas* to the south of the Nirvāṇa temple took place during the later Kushaṇa and early Gupta periods, the early plinth on which the Nirvāṇa temple and *stūpa* are raised may be safely assigned to the time of the great Kushaṇa rulers. All evidence now available points to the fact that both the old monastery and the oldest portion of the central monument were built at that period.

In this connection I may also mention a collection of clay sealings belonging to the Convent of the Great Decease, which were found not far from the entrance of O. They exhibit a new type and must date from about A. D. 600. We may assume that they belong to the period between the destruction of the old monastery and the foundation of the new one. The latter event must have taken place about A.D. 700, as the sealings found outside this building do not date further back than the eighth century.

Monastery E.

This building, situated outside the mound, north-east of the central group of monuments, was discovered and partly excavated in the course of last year's explorations. As noted in my previous paper, its existence was not even indicated by any elevation of the soil. The ground on which it stands having since been acquired by Government, it was now possible to complete its excavation. The foot of its walls is 5′ below the level of the fields. Though in places large portions of the walls are missing, its ground-plan can be restored with certainty. The building forms a quadrangle and consists of rows of cells grouped on the four sides of a square (Pls. XV—XVI). Though it is the usual type of a Buddhist monastery, it possesses some special features which are worthy of notice. We find on both sides of the main entrance (which faces east) the same rectangular projections which are found in monastery D. In the present case, however, these projections (13′ wide) do not consist of solid masonry, but each of them contains a narrow room (15′ 6″ × 5′ 5″), which communicates through a door-way with the cell (9′ 4″ × 7′ 7″) adjoining the entrance chamber.

The entrance chamber itself (18′ × 12′ 8″) is, as usual, larger in size than other cells. It will be seen from the plan that it is entirely open towards the courtyard, but there is reason to assume that originally there existed here a partition of woodwork. This, I believe, may be inferred from the existence of a kind of threshold provided with four grooves probably used as mortises. In the outer doorway giving access to this room we notice similar grooves which are evidently meant to receive

the tenons of a wooden threshold or door-frame. It is of much interest that at both ends of the doorway two iron sockets were found *in situ*, which evidently were once let into a wooden threshold and served the same purpose as our hinges.

The plan shows that here again we find the ranges of cells alternating with closets such as we have noticed in the monasteries D and L. In the present case, however, the arrangement is somewhat different, as the north-west and south-west corner rooms have such a closet on each side and consequently are isolated from the other cells. The purport of this peculiar arrangement is not apparent.

The most striking feature of building E is that the space between the cells (43′ by 42′-6″) is not left open, but contains a detached chamber of considerable size (c. 30′ square) provided with a doorway in the centre of its north wall and with two windows (2′-11″ wide) on each side. From the existence of these windows it may be concluded that the passages between the central hall and the cells, which measure about 6½′ in width, were not covered over. In the middle of this chamber we find a kind of masonry platform, 12′ square, having on each side two grooves 2′-9″ long, 5′ wide and 4′-6″ deep, and in its centre a brick square 3′-5″ by 4″, which is built of large-sized bricks (16″ × 10″ × 2½″). The grooves seem to be meant as mortises for woodwork.

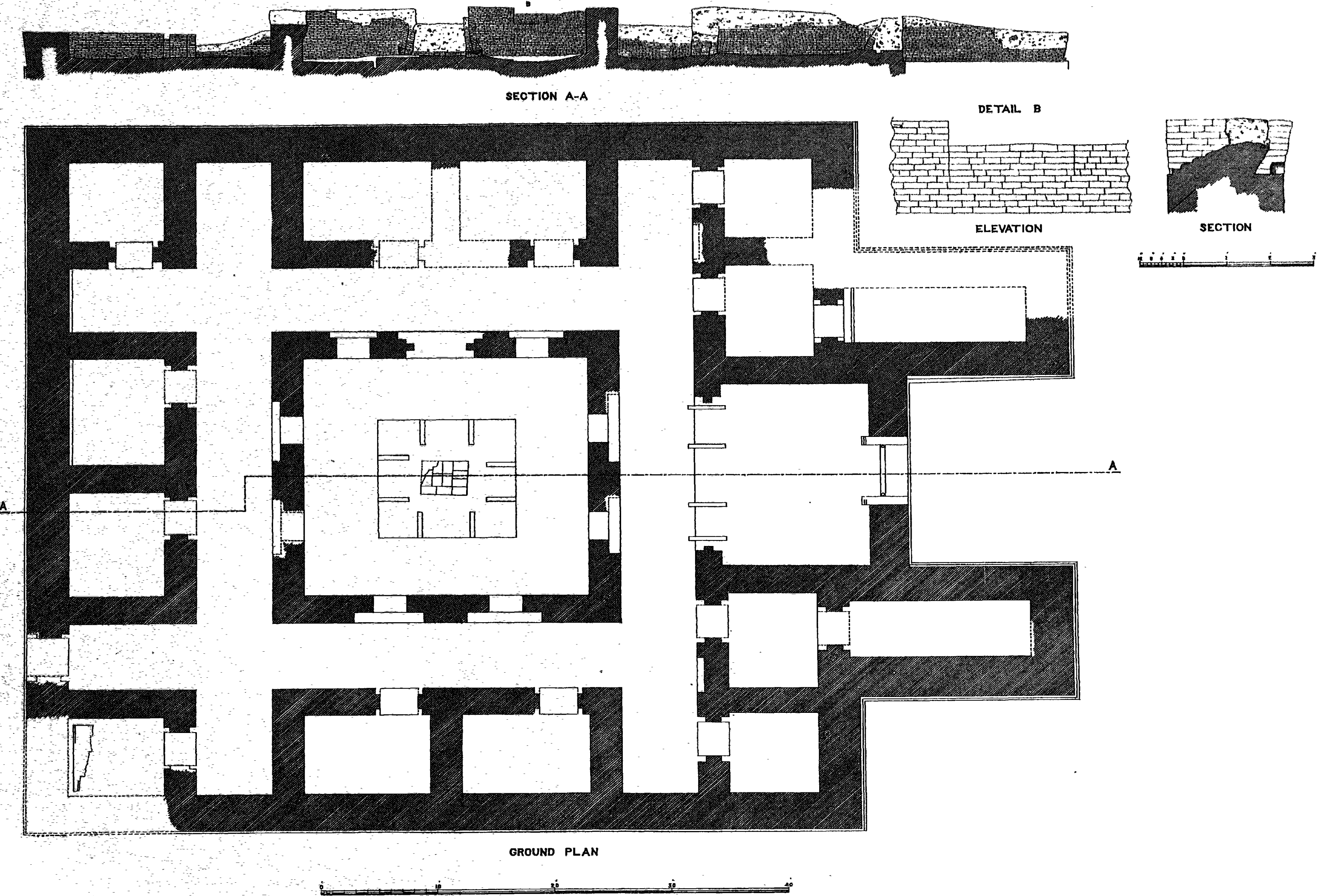
The purpose of this structure is by no means clear. Nor would it be easy to decide what was the object of the chamber itself. Hiuen Tsiang, in describing a *saṅghārāma*, says: "In the very middle of the building is the hall, high and wide." This might be well referred to the edifice in question. Unfortunately the Chinese pilgrim omits to inform us of the purpose of that central hall, but most probably he means the Sabbath Hall (*Pōsathāgāra*) in which the weekly assembly of the chapter took place for mutual edification.

It is true that we have already assigned the same use to the large room which projects from the monastery O. But I feel inclined to group E with the later buildings, which were raised after the old monastery had become destroyed. It is, in any case, remarkable that both halls are nearly equal in size. The finds made in E were very few. Evidently the building was gradually deserted for the same reason, as we have assumed with regard to monastery D. The only objects worth mentioning are a cornelian bead discovered inside the central hall and a clay tablet inscribed with the Buddhist creed, which was found on the top of the outer wall of the southern projection on the south side.

It is a curious circumstance that the entrance of E is turned away from the central group of monuments. This feature may perhaps be accounted for by the rule quoted by Hiuen Tsiang that a *saṅghārāma* should be orientated east, though in practice the exceptions are far from rare. At the west end of the southern corridor there is a second doorway pointing in the direction of the Nirvāṇa temple.

Buildings I-J.

In the ground outside the mound lately acquired by Government, to the north of the central group of monuments, the remains of two large buildings were discovered, completely hidden below the level surface of the fields. That to the west (I) was entirely excavated except the western-most portion, over which a path leads from the


KASIA EXCAVATIONS.
B
SECTION A-A
DETAIL B
ELEVATION
SECTION
A
A
GROUND PLAN
0
10
20
30
40
MONASTERY E.



MONASTERY E; FROM NORTH-EAST.

Buddhist *dharmśālā* to the Nirvāṇa temple. There can be little doubt that this portion is similar to that on the east side. The building presents the general character of a Buddhist monastery. It is a large quadrangle, 103′ by 97′, containing the usual rows of cells on its four sides. The space compassed by these cells, measuring 67′-7″ by 66′-6″, contains a tank 44′ square and 2′ deep. This tank is enclosed by a wall 2′ wide, on which a low wall is raised 1′-2″, in width. On the top of this wall large sized bricks are found, measuring 16″ by 10″ by 2½″. We may assume that this wall supported the wooden posts of a covered passage or verandah built in front of the cells. This passage, 9′-5″ wide on the east side, shows remnants of a concrete floor, which is 3′ below the ground-level.

The tank is paved with brick tiles laid alternately lengthwise and breadthwise and measuring 12½″ by 9½″ by 1½″. This pavement is broken at several places and shows two large round gaps possibly due to pits having been dug from the fields above. It is more difficult to account for a narrow strip left unpaved along the wall which encloses the tank.

The main entrance to the building I is marked by the two usual projections which are nearly square and contain each a rectangular chamber. We may assume that these chambers communicated with the adjoining cells, as is the case in building E, but no traces of doorways are left. The main entrance, also, is now only indicated by the two projections and by the large size of the adjoining room (23′-3″ by 13′-4″) as compared with that of the other cells. The entrance room contains a brick platform, 4′-3″ by 5′-6″ and 9″ high, built against its west wall. It is curious that something similar is found in the monastery excavated at Sārnāth by Major Kittoe, who notes "two large stones placed against the walls as if intended for the reception of statues in what must have been the entrance room of that building." It is remarkable that, though Kittoe's monastery faces north and the building here described south, in both cases the platform in question is placed against the west wall. This circumstance supports Kittoe's theory, for we may assume that the entrance room contained an image representing Buddha at the moment of his enlightenment and consequently facing east.

Of building I little more than the foundation now remains. Near its south-east corner the outer wall reaches the maximum height of 4′ measured from the foot, but the wall inside is not more than 1″ to 2″ above the pavement of the courtyard, which must represent the original floor-level. The width of the outer wall is 3′-7″, that of the wall surrounding the courtyard 2′-8″ to 2′-11″, and that of the walls between the cells 2′-4″.

A clue to the age of building I is given by some inscribed seals, which are of the same type as those found near the entrance of the monastery D. One of them, found at the foot of the east wall inside the courtyard, can be dated about A.D. 900 (List of finds 312).

Building J, adjoining I to the east, probably belongs to the same period, though it was built subsequently. This is clear from the fact that its south wall is built on to the south-east corner of I. Both buildings are separated by a corridor, in which fragments of pottery were found. The excavation of J has not yet been completed; but the part excavated shows it to be also a building of the monastery type containing rows of cells

arranged round a courtyard nearly 30′ square. Whether every building of this type necessarily represents a Buddhist monastery may be rightly doubted. It is quite possible that the buildings I and J were intended for the accommodation of pilgrims. For it should be noted, 1st, that they have not the eastern orientation; 2ndly, that they do not contain a chapel; and 3rdly, that they are separated from the sacred buildings by a heavy wall. This has not yet been completely excavated, but it most probably connected with the wall running north from the main *stūpa* (A).

FINDS.

Those objects which have a distinct bearing on the history of the buildings in which they were discovered have been noticed above. Among them I have mentioned an inscribed Buddha statuette of Mathurā sandstone assignable to the fifth century and a fragment of an inscribed slab dating back to the early Kushaṇa period. Both these objects were found in the monastery O, and supply the approximate dates of the foundation and destruction of this building. The inscribed fragment is the earliest inscription hitherto found on the Kasiā site. The Buddha statuette is contemporaneous with the colossal Nirvāṇa image and, as demonstrated above, presumably a work of the same sculptor whose name is partly preserved on the latter.

For the rest, last year's excavations—like those of the previous two years—yielded but very few objects of stone. Nearly all of them served some utilitarian purpose, and consist of mill-stones, grinding slabs and pestles. Mill-stones were found in the centre of the western room of N, in room O 9 and near the entrance of O. The last mentioned specimen measures 35 cm. in diameter and 22 cm. in height. Fragments of flat slabs, evidently meant for grinding, turned up in rooms 6,7,8 and 13 of monastery O. In room O 8 we also found the leg of a stone stool.



Fig. 1.

Two stone objects of a more ornamental kind deserve special notice. One is half a circular disc of schist, 16 cm. in diameter, seven fragments of which were found in the courtyard of building I on the original floor-level. It has in its centre a plain circular space, 6 cm. in diameter, enclosed by a raised border ornamented with lotus petals. The outer border consists of a row of

four rudely carved animals alternating with conventional flowers. Only two animals, a hog and a deer, are preserved, but from what remains of a third animal it may be inferred that the last half was identical with the preserved portion.

On the north side of *stūpa* No. 31 numerous fragments were found of a rectangular tablet of schist, 11 cm. in width. In its centre there is a slightly concave plain space, circular in shape and measuring about 6·5 cm. in diameter. The rest of the surface is curiously carved with a quaint design. The plain circular centre of these two objects suggests that both served the same purpose. Perhaps they were dishes, but it is impossible to decide in what exact manner they were used.

In the southern portion of the old monastery no such important discoveries of metal vessels were made as in the previously excavated northern part. I may mention, however, the discovery of a small brass vessel of the *kaṭōrī* type in room O 8, and of two spoons of copper among the débris which filled room O 10. One spoon is entire and measures 21·5 cm. in length. The blade, which is 9 cm. long and 4 cm. wide, has the shape of an elongated oval slightly shouldered towards the handle. The handle is somewhat curved near the blade and broadens towards its end. The other spoon, 15·5 cm. in length, has nearly the same shape, but the blade, most of which is missing, is not shouldered.

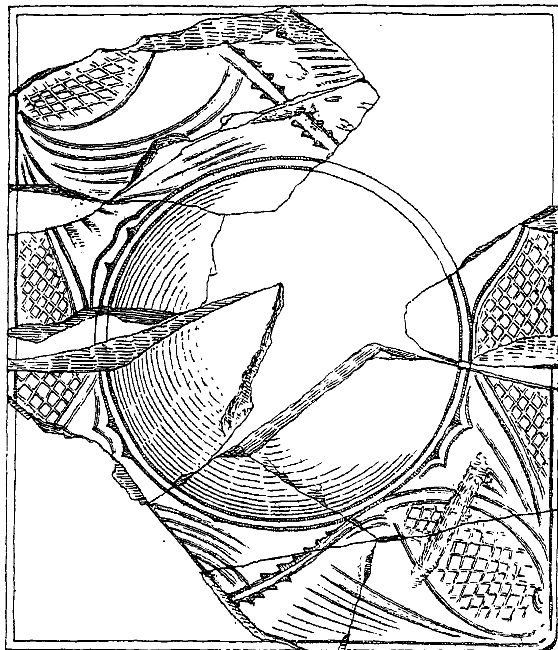


Fig. 2.

An iron spoon, presumably used for culinary purposes, which was found along the western outer wall of N, has already been noticed. Other objects of iron are a hatchet from room O 9 and a knife blade found in room O 13. Iron nails and hinges must have belonged to the woodwork, of which only shapeless lumps of charcoal now remain. Nails, 12 and 15 cm. long, were found in rooms 8 and 10 of monastery O; in the latter room also hinges which once belonged to the door. The two iron door sockets found *in situ* in the main entrance to monastery E have been mentioned in the description of this building.

Though the finds in stone and metal were comparatively few, objects of baked clay turned up in no less number than in the previous years. First of all are to be mentioned those which must once have formed part of monuments now partially or wholly destroyed. Carved bricks were found in considerable quantity among the groups of minor buildings to the south of the Nirvāṇa temple and *stūpa*. Some of large size evidently belonged to the facing of the early plinth on which those two buildings are raised. Others originate from small sized *stūpas* of ornamental brickwork, one fine specimen of which is still extant among the southern group of monuments. Two fragments of carved bricks of a later type were found in building I. Rings and cones of baked clay would seem to have belonged to the pinnacles of small *stūpas*, whilst some terra-cotta fragments may have belonged to the parasols which once surmounted them.

In this connection I may mention two fragments of an inscribed brick found on the north side of *stūpa* No. 33. The inscription, apparently the Buddhist creed, may be assigned to the seventh or eighth century. From the fact that the top surface also is inscribed, it appears doubtful whether this tile was inserted in the masonry of some building. It may have served the purpose of a votive offering. The same uncertainty exists with regard to a broken terra-cotta panel representing Buddha's Nirvāṇa, which was found to the west of *stūpa* No. 33. The remaining part of this panel shows the lower portion of the Buddha figure reclining on his couch. The total absence of attendants is noteworthy.

A fine and well-preserved Buddha head of terra-cotta came to light in the southern *stūpa* court where it was lying on the pavement at the foot of the northern wall of *stūpa* No. 41. It is 34·5 cm. in circumference and 18·5 cm. in height. Its size and appearance closely agree with that of the head of which two fragments were found near shrine K in the course of last year's excavations. It seems, therefore, certain that these heads belong to those Buddha figures which once occupied the niches of the early *stūpa* plinth, and one of which, partially preserved, is still extant in the niche adjoining the flight of steps to the north. In the course of my paper, I have mentioned the discovery of fragments of a large sized terra-cotta Buddha figure in room No. 10, presumably the chapel of monastery O. They are, unfortunately, too indistinct to enable us to decide on the size and attitude of the image. Their chief interest is the evidence they afford that the chamber in which they were found was used as a chapel. If contemporaneous with the inscribed fragment found in the same room, the Buddha image would have to be assigned to the early Kushaṇa period.

Numerous fragments of terra-cotta figurines were recovered, some among the southernmost group of monuments and some in the courtyard of building I. Among them are several representations of animals, such as a horse found between *stūpas* Nos. 10 and 30, an elephant found in the courtyard of monastery O, and a tortoise from the courtyard of I.

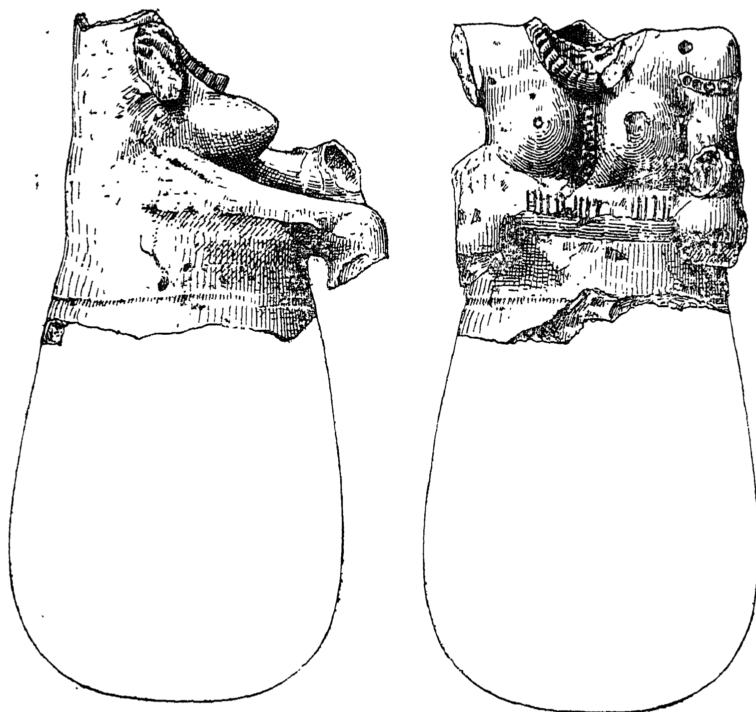


Fig. 3.

In my previous paper I have given a description of certain earthenware vessels roughly shaped as human figures, the head serving the purpose of a stopper. In the course of this year's excavation a few more specimens came to light between the shrines K and G, in the rubbish heap east of D and to the south of building I. A fragment of a similar image-pot, which

presents a somewhat different type, was found outside the western wall of monastery D. It is the upper portion of a vessel, about 1 cm. thick, made in the shape of a clumsy female figure seated with her arms resting on her knees. She wears a necklace and two bracelets round her left arm. The right arm and the legs beneath the knees are broken. The head is missing, but it appears from a tenon still sticking inside the neck of the figure, that it was detached and used as a stopper, as is the case with the image-pots previously discovered.

Earthenware lamps were found inside some of the cells of monastery O, in the courtyard of D, in the rubbish heap east of D and in the tank of building I. Spindle whorls, balls, miniature *stūpas* and other nondescript objects of baked clay turned up in nearly every part of the site. An ivory die, 3·4 cm. long and 1·3 cm. wide and thick, was found inside the room of the eastern projection of building I. Its four sides are marked with one to four circular marks. It has the same shape as the dies now-a-days used in India. A similar specimen, 4 cm. long, on which the numbers are from three to six, has been excavated at Sārnāth.

Inscribed Objects.

Besides the two inscriptions on stone noticed above, a vast number of inscribed objects of baked and unbaked clay were discovered in this year's excavation. They present, on the whole, the same types as those found in the preceding year and described in my previous paper, but far exceed those former finds both in number and variety. Especially numerous are the clay sealings inscribed either with the name of a monastic establishment or with that of a private person. The bulk of them were found in a low mound situated to the east of monastery D and to the south of the wall, which runs eastward from the north-east corner of this building.[1] This mound may be well described as a rubbish heap, for it contained, besides clay sealings, potsherds, earthen lamps, terra-cotta fragments, iron nails and pegs. Most probably the sealings were originally attached to objects of perishable material, which were regularly thrown away outside the monastery and thus, in the course of time, formed the mound in question.

I may state at once that the inscriptions extend over a period of some three centuries, as the approximate date of the character used in them varies from about 700 to 1000 A. D. They, therefore, prove that this must be the period during which the monastery D was occupied. Some twelve inscribed clay sealings of a somewhat earlier date were found outside the main entrance to monastery O, on the site once occupied by Mr. Carlleyle's bungalow. A few detached specimens turned up on other spots.

There can be little doubt that the inscribed sealings were used to secure parcels and letters addressed to the inmates of the Kasiā monasteries. Most of them have distinct impressions on their backs; in several cases the marks of strings are plainly visible. The use of strings to secure parcels or letters is well illustrated by a passage from the Harshacharita[2] where we read of a messenger "having his head

[1] This mound is indicated on Mr. Carlleyle's plan of the site, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXII, Plate III.

[2] *Harshacharita* (Bombay 1897), p. 52, Cowell's translation (quoted above), pp. 40 f.

wrapped with a bundle of letters, which had a deep division pressed into it by a very thick thread that bound it."

Mr. E. H. Hankin to whom I sent some specimens of the Kasiā sealings for chemical examination, favoured me with his opinion in the following terms: "The impressions at the back of the mass of clay contain vegetable remnants, which are not charred, proving that the clay mass has been dried but not burnt. I took a cast of one of the impressions in sulphur, and then carved away the seal. The result showed that the seal had been made over a knot in a piece of rope. From the nature of the débris I conclude that the cord was not made of cotton or any fine fibre." In this connection it should also be noted that most of the inscribed sealings were found in a fragmentary state. This circumstance also may easily be accounted for on the assumption that the seals had to be broken in order to enable the recipient to open the parcel to which they were attached.

The total number of clay sealings found in last year's excavations amounts to 895 (314 complete and 581 fragments), of which 856 bear inscriptions. Of these, 521 belong to Buddhist monasteries and 335 to private individuals. Those of the former type, except only 10 specimens, belong to the Convent of the Great Decease, which stood on the traditional spot of Buddha's Nirvāṇa near the Malla capital Kusinārā. The great majority represent the two types of c. A.D. 750 and 900 described in my previous paper. The type of c. A.D. 750 is represented by two hundred and forty, that of c. A.D. 900 by two hundred and sixty examples. Nearly all these sealings were found in the refuse-heap outside D, a few in the courtyard of that building.

There are eleven specimens of three other types of seals likewise belonging to the Mahāparinirvāṇa Convent, but evidently of an earlier date. Two of them I would assign to about A. D. 600 and the third to about A.D. 650. They thus form a link between the early Gupta seal of c. A.D. 400, which has the coffin between the twin *sāl* trees, and the two later seals of c. 756 and 900 A.D., marked with the wheel-and-deer symbol. The three new types of 600-650 are similar to the later seals both as regards their size, general appearance and legend. One of them bears the wheel-and-deer symbol; on the other two the symbol is indistinct. It is of interest to note that these earlier sealings were mostly found outside the old monastery O.

One specimen and eight fragments came to light of a monastic seal which—if my reading of the somewhat defaced legend is correct—belongs to a convent known by the name of *Eraṇḍa*. A monastery of this name has—as far as I know—not been found mentioned anywhere else. It is, therefore, uncertain whether *ēraṇḍa* is to be taken in its ordinary meaning of "Ricinus plant" or designates some locality. As a proper name *Eraṇḍa* is used to designate a river, a confluence (*saṁgama*) and a place of pilgrimage (*tīrtha*), but I am unable to locate any of them. A connection with Eraṇḍapalla, a locality mentioned in the Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta, seems out of the question, considering that this place was situated in Southern India.

It is interesting to note that on this seal we find again the wheel and the two deer which, orginally indicative of Buddha's first sermon in the Deerpark of Benares, had gradually become a general Buddhist symbol, extensively used on the seals of monastic establishments.[1] The Lucknow Museum possesses a clay seal, elliptical in shape and

[1] Dr. Bloch notes that the wheel-and-deer symbol has been adopted by the Buddhist Pāla kings of Magadha on their copper-plates, of which four or five are extant.

measuring 5·5 by 4·5 cm., on which we find the same symbol and the legend *Srī Dvētavanārāma-mahā* (2) *vihāra-bhikshu-saṅghasya.* The reading is uncertain, owing to the letters being partly defaced ; the date seems to be that of the early Guptas. The Dulva contains rules regarding the use of seals by Buddhist monks in which it is prescribed that "a man of the religious order must have on his seal or stamp a circle with two deer on opposite sides, and below them the name of the founder of the *vihāra*". That this rule was first framed in India is evident from the Kasiā seals which afford such clear examples of its practical application.

The remaining 335 sealings, pertaining to private individuals, show 63 different seal impressions. They do not possess the same interest as those of monastic establishments ; for we can hardly ever hope to identify the persons to whom they belong. They contain nothing but the names of their owners either in the nominative or genitive case, often accompanied by some common symbol such as a goose, a lotus-flower or conch-shell. All we can say is that the persons mentioned on these sealings were presumably Buddhists, though their names, on the whole, do not afford any clue as regards their creed. In one case we may perhaps go a step further and surmise that Śīlāgupta, whose seal occurs combined with that of the Monastery of the Great Decease, was an office holder of that Convent.

There are numerous other instances in which we find impressions of different seals on the same lump of clay. Very frequently also we find the same seal repeated. Sometimes we find different seals bearing the same name. It is, of course, impossible to say whether such seals belonged to one person or to different persons bearing the same name. The former alternative is favoured by the similarity of the character and of the symbols which is presented by such homonymous seals.

Though, as stated above, the names are not as a rule typically Buddhist, we notice the great number of those which contain the name of the goddess Tārā, such as Tārābala, Tārāmitra, Tārāśaraṇa and Tārāśraya.

There are a certain number of seals which contain merely a symbol. Most remarkable among them are those which represent a skeleton seated cross-legged as in meditation or in one instance standing. As surmised in my previous paper, such figures possibly are meant to represent the corporeal relics of some Buddhist saint.[1]

This year's excavations yielded several more specimens of inscribed clay tablets which apparently were not attached to parcels or other objects, but must have served the purpose of votive offerings. They are of two distinct types. The larger ones, mostly elliptical in shape, show the figure of a Buddha or Bōdhisattva surrounded by the Buddhist creed. Such tablets, which are found in most Buddhist countries, seem to have come into use at a comparatively late date. Those found at Kasiā may be assigned to the tenth century. In the course of last year's excavations five specimens were found, three of which are identical with the two discovered during the preceding year. One represents Buddha under the Bōdhi tree, and the other two the Bōdhisattva Maitrēya. The two which represent new types are unfortunately incomplete ; but seem both to contain a Bodhisattva figure. Their find-spot was the refuse mound, east

[1] *Cf.* my note *Le parinirvāṇa d'Ānanda* B. E. F. E. O. Tome V, 1905, pp. 417-8. Dr. Spooner suggests that the skeleton represents the Ascetic Gautama figured in Gandhāra sculpture. Dr. Bloch thinks that it is meant for a *prēta* and remarks that such figures occur as attendants of Buddhist images of the Pāla time from Magadha.

of monastery D. A fragment found among the southernmost group of *stūpas* may be reckoned among this class. It shows three *stūpas* and has an indistinct inscription, apparently the Buddhist creed, beneath.

The second class of votive tablets are those inscribed with the Buddhist creed. Eighty specimens of these were found, nearly all of them among the ruined *stūpas* which fill the space south of the central group of monuments. They are of eight different dies and range in date from about A.D. 600 to 1000. The use of these tablets also would seem to be peculiar to the concluding period of Indian Buddhism. Here I must note also two clay cones with eight *stūpas* in relief round the top and impressions of the Buddhist creed. Both were found in the refuse heap east of monastery D.

In discussing the date of the old monastery L-O, I have mentioned the discovery of two dies of burnt clay. One of them, found in the large chamber on the east side of building N, has the same legend and symbol as the two similar dies discovered in the old monastery during last year's excavations. The newly-found specimen confirms my reading of the inscription *Āryāshṭavṛiddhai*, which evidently stands for *Āryāshṭavṛiddhyai*. I wish to note that Dr. Fleet, to whom I sent a cast of this die, proposes to read the first letter *i* or *ī*. The original, however, does not seem to me to admit of this reading. The first letter shows a type of *ā* found in inscriptions of the third and fourth century, in which a horizontal stroke attached to the proper left of the letter differentiates it from the short *a*.

It is remarkable that, though no less than three dies of this kind were found on the Kasiā site, not a single impression of them has come to light among the numerous clay sealings and tablets. It may be inferred that the tablets produced with these dies were given to pilgrims who visited the site and that " the noble eight," referred to in the inscription, are the eight principal places of pilgrimage. In this connection it is of interest to note that elsewhere clay tablets have been found bearing the legend *Āshṭavṛiddh* [*ai*], the purport of which is undoubtedly the same as that of the Kasiā dies. One of them was found by Cunningham at Pakna Bihar and shows over the legend a tree within an enclosure between the letters *va* and *sa*.[1]

The Lucknow Museum possesses another specimen of uncertain provenance (4 by 3·5 cm.), on which a *stūpa* surmounted by six umbrellas is shown, with a human figure standing on each side. The lower portion of the inscription beneath is injured, but there can be no doubt that we have again the same legend *Ashṭavṛiddh*(*ai*). Judging from the character, these tablets belong to the same period as the Kasiā dies, namely the fifth century.

The other die[2] excavated at Kasiā is of still greater interest. As stated above, it was found near the entrance of the monastery O, and must have been in use at the time when this building was occupied. Like the die just described, it has a pierced handle from which we may suppose that such objects were worn attached to a cord. The flat surface is elliptical and measures 6 by 4·8 cm. Both as regards size and general appearance the seal produced with this die agrees closely with the early Gupta seals of the Mahāparinirvāṇa and Makuṭabandha [na] monasteries discovered previously on

[1] Cunningham, *A.S. R.*, Vol. XI, p. 36, Plate XII, No. 4.

[2] A preliminary note on this die has been published, J. R. A. S., for 1907, pp. 1049ff.

the Kasiā site. The date also must be approximately the same, namely about A. D. 400. The upper half contains a tree within an enclosure rising from a flat mound and flanked by two indistinct objects, perhaps likewise meant for trees. The lower half, separated from the upper one by a double horizontal line, contains the legend in two lines which I read : *Śrī-Vishṇudvīpa-vihārē* (2) *bhikshu-saṅghasya* "Of the community of friars at the Convent of Holy Vishṇudvīpa". This short inscription is of special interest for the topographical question connected with the Kasiā remains. As I will endeavour to show, it renders it highly probable that these remains represent not Kusinārā, but Vēṭhadīpa, another of the eight places at which a portion of Buddha's relics was preserved. That *Vishṇudvīpa* is the Sanskrit, or rather the Sanskritised form of Pāli *Vēṭhadīpa* cannot rightly be doubted, though at first sight an etymological connection between the two would seem to be impossible. The Sanskrit word, it is true, does not occur in literature, but in the Tibetan text dealing with Buddha's Nirvāṇa we find as equivalent of Pāli Vēṭhadīpa the name 'Khyab-'jugg-Ling, which has been recognised by Tibetan scholars as a literal rendering of Sanskrit Vishṇu-dvīpa " the island of Vishṇu." It is not a little interesting to find this hypothetical version thus confirmed by an authentic document.

We may, therefore, conclude that the seal-die belongs to the convent of Veṭhadīpa, the place mentioned in the Book of the Great Decease as one of the eight depositories of Buddha's corporeal relics. It would follow that the remains of Kasiā represent that very sanctuary, if we are allowed to assume that the die originally belonged to the buildings, among the ruins of which it was found. It is possible that it was used to seal letters issued by the inmates of the Kasiā Convent, just as the numerous clay sealings, in all probability, originate from documents received by them.

That among these sealings such a large number belong to the Convent of the Great Decease need not prevent us from identifying the Kasiā site with that of Veṭhadīpa. As both places were intimately connected with the tradition of Buddha's death, we may assume that between the two convents there existed a close relationship necessitating a continual interchange of documents. The colossal Nirvāṇa statue on which Cunningham's identification was mainly based would seem natural at the sanctuary of Vēṭhadīpa for the reason just quoted.

It must, however, be admitted that the inscribed seal-die on which the name Vishṇudvīpa occurs may have been brought from elsewhere. It would be hazardous to consider the identification as proved by a small object of portable size, and it is hoped that the excavations which will be continued next winter will yield some conclusive evidence to settle this important topographical problem.

LIST OF INSCRIBED OBJECTS.

Inscriptions on Stone.

1. Fragment of red sandstone (height 10 cm. width 8cm.) containing four *aksharas* of which only the last one is entire. The height of this *akshara* is 1 cm. but that of the second *akshara* seems to be 4 cm. The character is Brāhmī of the early Kushaṇa type. The *ya* which forms the lower portion of the first ligature is expressed by the complete single form and not by a loop as in the later Kushana inscription. The reading *is* :-*ya-ku-sa-na* ; but it is doubtful

whether the first and third *aksharas* were provided with a vowel mark. The fragment was found in room No. 3 of the monastery O, which presumably served the purpose of a chapel.

2. Four fragments forming the inscribed base of a standing Buddha statuette of Agra sandstone. The inscribed surface measures 25·2 cm. in width and 5 cm. in height. The inscription consists of one line covering the whole width of the stone and a second short line 3.5 cm. in length. The size of the *aksharas* varies from 0.7 to 1.7 cm. The fifth, sixth and ninth *aksharas* are partly destroyed, but can be restored with certainty. The character is Gupta of about the 5th century similar to that used in the inscription on the colossal image of the dying Buddha. The language is Sanskrit, correct but for two mistakes in Sandhi. The reading is : *Dēyadharmō ya(ṁ Śā-]kyabhikshōḥ(kshōr) bhadanta-Suvīrasya-kriti (r*)* (2) *Dinnasya* "This (is) the pious gift of the Buddhist friar the venerable Suvīra ; (it is) the work of Dinna." The inscribed fragments together with numerous other pieces of the Buddha-statuette were found in the courtyard of monastery O not far from room No. 3, the supposed chapel.

Inscriptions on Terra-Cotta.

Two terra-cotta fragments, apparently belonging to one panel, 10 cm. high and 5·5 to 6 cm. thick and containing an inscription in two lines enclosed within an ornamental border. Only one *akshara* is entire measuring 2·5 cm. in height. The character is that of about A. D. 700. The larger fragment contains the proper right end of the inscription with *rmma* in the upper line and *ṇaḥ* in the lower line. On the smaller fragment only the lower portion of two *aksharas*, probably *ma* and *ha*, are preserved together with part of the *r* stroke of the following letter. The legend presumably was the Buddhist creed, the two fragments yielding the concluding word *mahāśramaṇaḥ*. But as *rmma* of *dharmma* is placed at the end of the first line, there is reason to assume that it was preceded by a dedication. If my supposition is correct, the second line must have consisted of thirty-two *aksharas* and the panel must have been more than 1m. in length. On the top surface we find again the beginning portion of the Buddhist creed in two lines. In the upper line *Yē dharmmā hē-* is preserved and in the second line *dat-tēshāṁ cha*. The height of the letters is only 0·5 to 1 cm. Under it is a detached *ma-* of somewhat larger size, perhaps meant for a mason's mark. The two fragments were found immediately to the north of *stūpa* No. 33.

Inscribed Clay Seal-Dies.

4. Seal-die of baked clay with pierced handle. The inscribed surface is oval and measures 6 cm. in height and 4·8 cm. in width. Round the edge of the inscribed surface runs a plain ornamental border. The space within this border is divided in two halves by a double horizontal line. The upper portion shows a sacred tree within an enclosure rising from a flat hillock. On both sides there is an indistinct object, perhaps meant for a tree. The lower half contains the legend in two lines 3·5 and 3 cm. respectively in length. The size of the *aksharas* which are reversed, varies from 0·5 to 1 cm. The character is Gupta of about A.D. 400 of the eastern variety, as shown by the signs for *sha* and *ha*. The legend reads: *śrī-Vishṇudvīpa-vihārē* (2) *bhikshusaṅghasya* " Of the community of friars at the Convent of Holy Vishṇudvīpa." The die was found at the south-east corner of the projecting portion of monastery O, at a distance of 19′-6″ from the east wall and 3′-6″ below the surface of the mound.

5. Seal-die of baked clay with pierced handle. The inscribed surface is elliptical and measures 4 cm. in height and 2·8 cm. in width. It is divided in two halves by a double horizontal line turned upwards and joined on both ends. In the upper portion is a palm tree with an indistinct object on each side. The lower half contains the legend in one line 2·5 cm. in length. The size of the letters, which are reversed, varies from 0·7 to 1·3 cm. The character is Gupta of about the fifth century. The early shape of the initial *ā* deserves special notice. The legend reads: *Āry-āshṭa-vriddhai* (*ddhyai*) " For the growth of the noble eight." The die was found in the

larger of the two rooms on the east side of N. Two similar dies have come to light in L and M in the course of last year's excavations.[1]

INSCRIBED CLAY SEALS.

Seals of Monasteries.

6. Clay seal, circular, 2 cm. in diameter. In upper half human (?) figure with indistinct object to proper right. In lower half, legend in two lines: *śrī-Mahāparinirvāṇa-* (2) *vihārē bhikshu "saṁghasya* " Of the community of friars at the Convent of the blessed Great Decease." The character is that of about A. D. 600. Six complete specimens and two fragments of this seal were found on the site of Mr. Carlleyle's bungalow. They all show very distinct marks of strings on the back.

7. Clay seal, circular, 2 cm. in diameter. In upper half wheel-and-deer symbol. In lower half, legend in three lines: *Śrī-Mahāparinirvāṇa-*(2) [*vihārīyārya–*] *bhikshu-* (3) *Saṁghasya* " Of the community of reverend friars belonging to the Convent of the blessed Great Decease." The character is that of about A.D. 600. One fragment of this seal was found; it has string marks on the back.

8. Clay seal, circular, 2·7 cm. in diameter. Symbol in upper half lost. Legend in lower half apparently in three lines [*Śrī Mahā*] *parinirvvāṇa* (2)[*vi*]*hā*,*riyā*) *rya-bhikshu* (3)[*saṅghasya*] " Of the community of reverend friars belonging to the Convent of the blessed Great Decease. " Date about A. D. 650. Two fragments, one of which was found on the site of Mr. Carlleyle's bungalow. A defect specimen has been found in L 7 in the course of last year's excavations (List 1905-06, No. 7).

9. Clay seal, elliptical, 2·6 × 3 cm. Wheel-and-deer symbol over legend in three lines. *Śrī-Mahāparinirvvāṇa-*(2) *mahāvihārīyārya-*(3) *bhikshu-saṅghasya* "Of the community of reverend friars attached to the great Convent of the blessed Great Decease." Date c. A.D. 750. Some forty specimens and two hundred fragments were found in the corner between monastery D and the wall connecting it with A. (*Cf.* List 1905-06, No. 9). On one fragment the legend is combined with *Śīlagupta* (beneath No. 37).

10. Clay seal, circular, 2 cm. in diameter. Wheel-and-deer symbol over legend in three lines: *Śrī-Mahāparinirvvāṇa* (2) *vihārīyārya-bhikshu-*(3) *saṅghasya* "Of the community of reverend friars belonging to the Convent of the blessed Great Decease." Date A.D. 900. Eighty specimens and hundred-and-eighty fragments were found in the corner between monastery D and the wall connecting it with A. (*Cf.* List 1905-06, No. 12.)

11. Clay seal, circular, 3 cm. in diameter. Wheel-and-deer symbol over legend in two lines: *Śrīmad-Ēraṇḍa-mahāvihārī*(2)*yārya-bhikshu-saṅghasya* "Of the community of reverend friars belonging to the great Convent of Ēraṇḍa." Date c. A.D. 750. One complete specimen and eight fragments were found in the corner between Monastery D and the wall connecting it with A.

12. Clay seal, circular, 2·5 cm. in diameter. Wheel-and-deer symbol over legend in two lines, illegible, except last three letters—*saṅghasya.* One defaced specimen.

Personal Seals.[2]

13. Circular seal, 1·8 cm. in diameter. Legend: *Ghaṇḍakasya.* Conch-shell above and conventional lotus under legend. 107 specimens, of which 50 are complete and 57 fragments. On fourteen of these seals the legend is combined with *Vidhisaṁparasya* (beneath No. 14), on ten with *Tārāśrayaḥ* (No. 25), on one with *Apramāda* (double legend, No. 15), on one with *Praśāntaśrīprabha* (No. 16), on one with *Abhiprāsiddhi* (No. 39), and on one with skeleton

[1] *Cf. A. S. R.*, 1905-06, p. 83.

[2] Nearly all the seals described here were found in the refuse heap between the east wall of Monastery D and the wall running east from its north-east corner. Of those found elsewhere, the findspot will be specially stated. Their date must lie between A. D. 700 and 1000 except perhaps No. 13, which may belong to the seventh century.

seal (No. 76). One of the seals on which the legend occurs combined with *Vidhisaṁparasya* was found on the site of Mr. Carlleyle's bungalow.

14. Circular seal, 2·2 cm. in diameter. Legend: *Vidhisaṁparasya.* Conch-shell above, conventional lotus under legend. Nine specimens, of which one complete and eight fragments. Besides thirteen specimens (three complete) combined with *Ghaṇḍakasya* (No. 13.)

15. Oval seal, 1·6 by 1 cm. Legend, *Apramāda.* Sixteen specimens (eight complete): of which one with triple legend, three with double legend, one combined with *Ghaṇḍakasya* (No. 13), one with *Abhiprāsiddhi* (No. 39), and one with *Vāsukasya* (No. 20). The one with triple legend was found on the top of the east wall of L, at the entrance of this building. *Cf.* List 1905-06, No. 15.

16. Circular seal, 2 cm. in diameter. Legend: *Praśāntaśrīprabha.* Conch-shell above, and conventional lotus under legend. Twenty-three specimens (seven complete), of which one with triple legend and combined with *Ghaṇḍakasya* (No. 13). One seal on which the triple legend is combined with *Vikkākasya* (No. 35) was found in the courtyard of I and a defaced single specimen on the top of the east wall of L. *Cf.* beneath No. 45.

17. Circular seal, 1·8 cm. in diameter. Legend: *Śāntajñāna.* Twenty-three specimens (seven complete), of which one with triple legend, two combined with *Vikkākasya* (No. 35), one with [*Cchattra*] *datta* (No. 74) and one with goose seal (No. 77).

18. Circular seal, 1·5 cm. in diameter. Legend: *Ānandasi(ṁ)ghasya.* Bee (?) above, flower vase under legend. Twelve specimens (five complete), of which one with double legend. A bad specimen of this seal was found in the entrance room of J.

19. Circular seal, 2 cm. in diameter. Legend: *Gaṅgājasya* (?). Radiated ornament above. Nineteen specimens (three complete), of which one with double legend.

20. Circular seal, 1·8 cm. in diameter. Legend: *Vāsukasya.* Fifteen specimens (five complete), of which one combined with *Gaṅgājasya* (No. 19), one with *Apramāda* (No. 15), two with *Abhiprāsiddhiḥ* (No. 39) and one with *Abhiprāsiddhiḥ* (No. 39) and skeleton (No. 74).

21. Circular seal, 1·7 cm. in diameter. Legend: *Vāsukasya.* Sun beneath. Three specimens (two complete), of which one combined with *Tārāśrayaḥ* (No. 26). *Cf.* List 1905-06, No. 13.

22. Elliptical seal, 1·7 by 0·5 cm. Legend: *Vāsu*(*kasya*). One specimen with double legend.

23. Elliptical seal, 1·6 by 1 cm. Legend: *Śrinda.* Nine specimens (six complete), of which one with double legend.

24. Elliptical seal, 1·7 by 1·2 cm. Legend: *Tārāśrayaḥ.* Seven specimens (three complete), of which one with double legend and one combined with [*Divā*]*karaprabha* (No. 75). *Cf.* List 1905-06, No. 21.

25. Circular seal, 1·2 cm. in diameter. Legend: *Tārāśrayaḥ.* Sun above. Seventeen specimens (three complete), of which one with triple legend, defaced, and ten combined with *Ghaṇḍakasya* (No. 13).

26. Elliptical seal, 1·6 by 6 cm. Legend: *Tārāśrayaḥ.* One specimen combined with *Vāśukasya* (No. 21).

27. Circular seal, 1·6 cm. in diameter. Legend: *Tārāśrayasya.* One specimen.

28. Circular seal, 1·7 cm. in diameter. Legend: *Tār*[*ā*]*mitra.* Five specimens (two complete), of which one with double legend.

29. Circular seal, 1·6 cm. in diameter. Legend: *Tārāśaraṇa.* Conch-shell above, bee (?) under legend. Five specimens (three complete).

30. Circular seal, 1·4 cm. in diameter. Legend: *Tārāśaraṇa.* Conch-shell above, thunderbolt (?) under legend, two fragments.

31. Circular seal, 1·5 (?) cm. in diameter. Legend: [*Tārā*]*śaraṇa.* Conch-shell above, separated from legend by horizontal line. Two fragments.

32. Circular seal, 1·4 cm. in diameter. Legend: *Tārābala.* Indistinct ornament above and under legend. Six specimens (three complete). One fragment was found on the east side of J. *Cf.* List 1905—06, No. 20.

33. Circular seal, 1 cm. in diameter. Legend : *Tārāka* (?). *Oṁ* symbol above. One specimen with double legend.

34. Elliptical seal, 2·2 by 1 cm. Legend : *Jakshapālita*. Four specimens (three complete), of which one with double legend.

35. Circular seal, 2 cm. in diameter. Legend : *Vikkākasya*. Sun above, goose under legend. Nine specimens (two complete).

36. Elliptical seal, 1·6 by 0·8 cm. Legend : *Vikkākasya*. One specimen combined with *Prathānaśrīprabha* (No. 16).

37. Circular seal, 1·7 cm. in diameter. Legend : *Śīlagupta*. Half-rosette above, twig under legend. Four specimens (two complete).

38. Circular seal, 1·7 cm. in diameter. Legend : *Silagupta*. Half-rosette above, twig under legend. Two fragments, one combined with *Mahāparinirvāṇa* seal No. 9.

39. Circular seal, 1·8 cm. in diameter. Legend in two lines : *Abhiprāsi*(2)*ddhih*. Rising sun above. Seven specimens (three complete), of which one combined with *Ghaṇḍakasya* (No. 13), two with *Vāsukasya* (No. 20), one with skeleton seal (No. 76) and one with both.

40. Elliptical seal, 1·6 by 0·6 cm. Legend : *Abhiprāsiddhi*. Nine specimens, of which six combined with *Kuśalaḥ* || (No. 43) and one with *Kuśalaḥ* || and *Apramāda* (No. 15). One with single legend was found in the courtyard of D. *Cf.* List 1905-06, No. 16.

41. Circular seal, 1·4 cm. in diameter. Legend : *Ratnamati*. Thunderbolt (?) above. One specimen.

42. Elliptical seal, 1·8 by 0·7 cm. Legend : *Dēnukasya*. One specimen.

43. Elliptical seal, 1·5 by 0·5 cm. Legend : *Kuśalaḥ* ||. Eight specimens, of which six combined with *Abhiprāsiddhi* (No. 39). *Cf.* List 1905-06, No. 17.

44. Circular seal, 1·7 (?) cm. in diameter. Legend : *Kamalaśrīprabha*. Scrolled ornament beneath. Four fragments.

45. Elliptical seal, 1·6 (?) by 0·6 cm. Legend : *[Pra]ś[ā]ntaśrīprabha*. One fragment with triple legend. *Cf.* above No. 16.

46. Circular seal, 1·6 cm. in diameter. Legend : *Kamala[pra]bha*. One specimen.

47. Circular seal, 1 cm. in diameter. Legend : *Sarvvasiddhi*. Foliated ornament above. One specimen.

48. Oblong seal, 1 by 0·6 cm. Legend : *Sarvvamitra*. One specimen.

49. Elliptical seal, 1·6 by 0·8 cm. Legend : *Yakhuka[sya.]* One specimen with double legend.

50. Circular seal, 1·5 (?) cm. in diameter. Legend : *Padmāvalā*. .Conventional lotus beneath, indistinct object above ; both separated from legend by horizontal line. Two fragments.

51. Elliptical seal, 1·1 by 0·8 cm. Legend: *[Sar]vakasya*. One specimen with triple legend.

52. Oblong seal. Legend : .. *śīla*. One fragment.

53. Oblong seal, 1·6 (?) by 0·8 cm. Legend : *Dūgaśarana*. One fragment.

54. Elliptical seal, 1·8 by 0·7 cm. Legend : *[Chchhattra] dattaḥ*. One specimen.

55. Elliptical seal, 2·2 (?) by 0 6 cm. Legend : *Yāgadattaḥ*. One specimen.

56. Oblong seal, 1·5 by 0·5 cm. Legend : *[Bhurdva]radattasya*. One specimen.

57. Circular seal, 1 cm. in diameter. Legend: *Valabha*. Two fragments, with three impressions.

58. Oblong seal, height 1·1 cm. Legend : *Śrīmamā[ka]*. One fragment.

59. Circular (?) seal, 1·5 (?) cm. in diameter. Legend in two lines : *Priya* ..(2) *gupta*. Ornament (?) above. One fragment.

60. Oblong seal, 1·7 by 0·5 cm. Legend : *[Hara]kasya*. Two specimens with double legend.

61. Oblong (?) seal. Legend in two (?) lines : *[Bālā]* ..One fragment.

62. Circular seal, 2 cm. in diameter. Legend : ..*ārya* . Sun above. Two fragments.

63. Oblong seal, 1 cm. high. Legend : *[Da]huka* . .One fragment.

64. Circular seal, 1·5 cm. in diameter. Legend :...*manasya*. Date 7th century. One specimen found on the site of Mr. Carlleyle's bungalow.

65. Circular seal, 2 cm. in diameter. Legend effaced. Bull couchant to right over legend. One specimen found outside I.

66. Circular seal, 3·5 (?) cm. in diameter. Winged flying figure (Gandharva ?) to right apparently carrying flowers. Legend along lower edge indistinct : [*Śrī*]*mad*-[*d*]*ina*...*sya*. One specimen much defaced.

67. Oblong seal, 1·5 by 1 (?) cm. Legend : *Vīrasēnasya*. One fragment found near entrance of I, at the south-west corner of the eastern-most projection.

68. Oblong seal, 1·5 by 1 cm. Legend : *Śrībalaḥ*. Lotus-bud beneath. One complete specimen with double legend and one fragment.

69. Circular (?) seal, 3 (?) cm. in diameter. One fragment on which one line of writing and foliage beneath. Legend : *Śrīs*[*e*] *nasya*.

70. Elliptical seal, 1·9 by 0·7 cm. Legend: *Lāchēkasyaḥ*. One specimen with triple legend.

71. Circular seal, 1 cm. in diameter. Legend: *Śāntajñāna* ‖ (?). One specimen with double legend.

72. Circular seal, 1·5 (?) cm. in diameter. Two geese facing each other. Traces of legend beneath. One fragment.

73. Circular seal, 1·2 cm. in diameter. Legend: *Vinītamata* (?). Two specimens.

74. Elliptical seal, 1·3 by 0·5 cm. Legend: [*Cchattra*]*datta*. One specimen with double legend combined with *Śāntajñāna* (No.17 *Cf.* above, No.54).

75. Elliptical seal, 2(?) by 0·7cm. Legend : [*Divā*]*karaprabha*. One fragment.

Non-inscribed Clay Seals.

76. Circular seal, 1·5cm. in diameter. Skeleton seated cross-legged within circle. Twenty-three specimens (fifteen complete), of which two combined with *Ghaṇḍakasya* (No. 13) and two with *Abhiprāsiddhi* (No. 39). One fragment was found on the platform to the east of N. *Cf.* List 1905-06, No. 30.

77. Circular seal, 1·5 cm. in diameter. Skeleton seated cross-legged within circle. Skull on both sides and bird perched on each shoulder. Three specimens. *Cf.* List 1905-06, No. 32.

78. Circular seal, 1·6 cm. in diameter. Skeleton standing. On both sides a bird perched on a skull. One specimen.

79. Oblong seal, 1·6 by 1 cm. Goose to right. Two specimens, of which one combined with *Śāntajñāna* (No. 17).

80. Oblong seal, 1·6 by 0·7 cm. Goose to left. One specimen.

81. Oblong seal, 1·6 by 1 cm. Tridented thunderbolt (?) resembling fleur-de-lis. Two specimens, of which one combined with bossed seal (No. 86).

82. Circular seal, 2 cm. in diameter. Scrolled ornament. One specimen.

83. Elliptical seal, 1 by 0·7 cm. Nine dots, one in centre and eight forming a circle around. One specimen with four seal impressions.

84. Square seal, 3 cm. long and wide. Four square bosses. Two specimens.

85. Circular seal, 3 cm. in diameter. Three square bosses. Three specimens.

86. Circular seal, 2·5 cm. in diameter. Three square bosses. Five specimens (two complete), of which one combined with thunderbolt seal (No. 81).

Votive Tablets.

87. Fragment (height 8 cm.) of large circular (?) tablet, containing two *stūpas* over three lines of obliterated writing (Buddhist Creed ?). Found to the east of *stūpa* No. 34.

88. Fragment of elliptical tablet with seated Buddha figure described in List 1905-06, No. 28. Found east of D.

89. Two elliptical tablets with seated Maitreya figure described in List 1905-06, No. 29. Found east of D.

90. Elliptical tablet, die surface 5·5 by 3·5 cm. Raised border partly broken. Bōdhisattva seated on lotus, right arm resting on right knee (*varada-mudrā*). Left hand holds flower stalk. Triple halo round head. Found east of D.

91. Fragment of elliptical tablet about 4 cm. wide. Lower portion of Bōdhisattva (?) figure seated on lotus, the right leg hanging down. Traces of inscription beneath. Found east of D.

92. Circular tablet 2·2 cm. in diameter. Buddhist Creed in four lines. Date c. A.D. 600. Eighteen complete specimens and six fragments. Five were found among the southern-most group of monuments. *Cf.* List 1905-06, No. 26.

93. Circular tablet, 1·8 cm. in diameter. Buddhist Creed in five lines. Date c. A.D. 600. Four specimens found among the southern-most group of monuments.

94. Circular tablet, 1·8 cm. in diameter. Buddhist Creed in four lines. Date uncertain. Fifty-six specimens all more or less obliterated, found on site of Mr. Carlleyle's bungalow.

95. Circular tablet, 2 cm. in diameter. Buddhist Creed in five lines. Date c. A.D. 800. Three specimens found east of D.

96. Circular tablet, 1·4 cm. in diameter. Buddhist Creed in six lines. Date uncertain. Two specimens.

97. Elliptical tablet, 3 by 2·6 cm. Buddhist Creed in six lines. Date c. A.D. 1000. One specimen found among southern-most group of monuments.

J. PH. VOGEL.

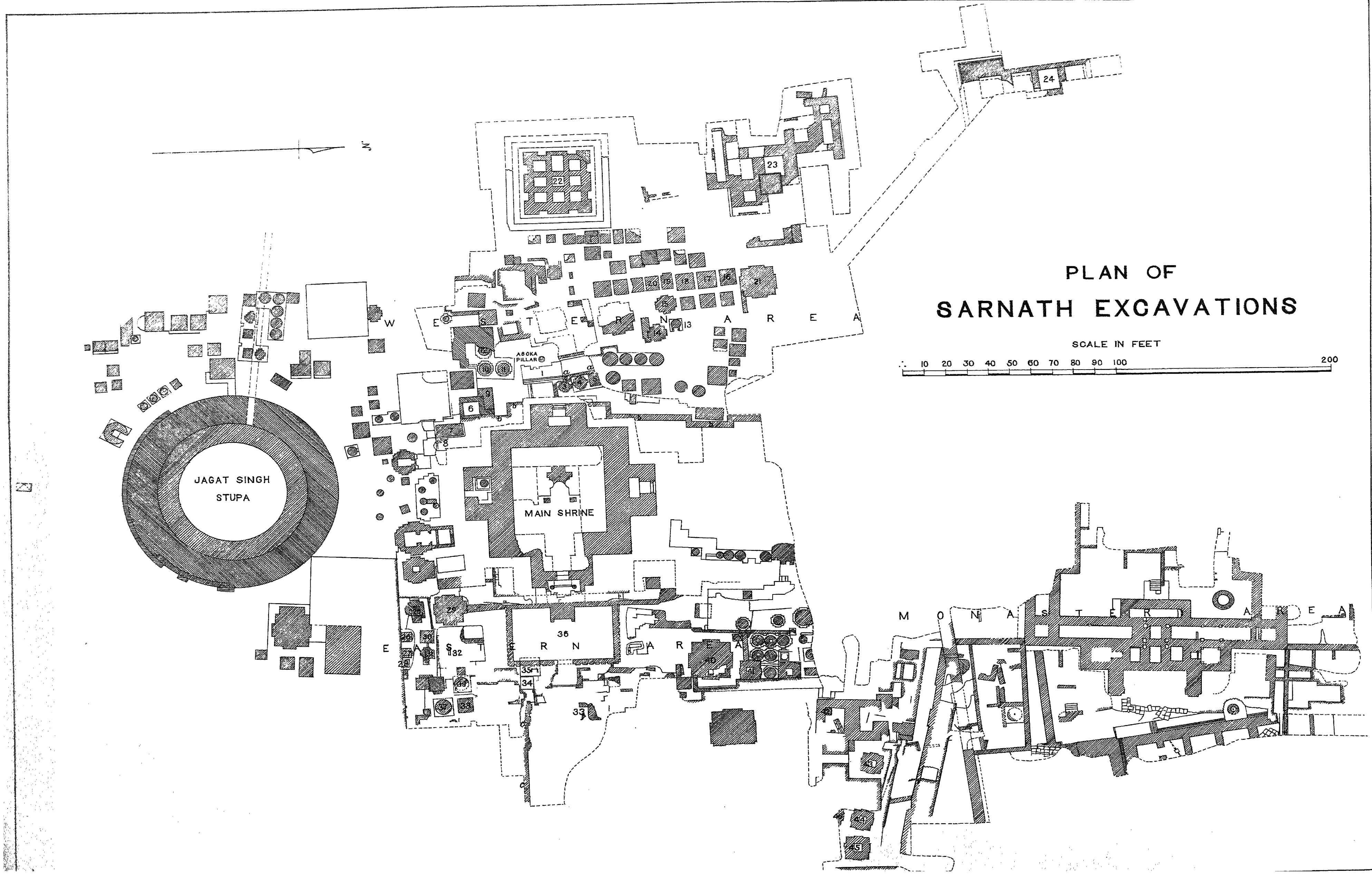
SĀRNĀTH.

THE bulk of the excavations carried out at Sārnāth in the spring of 1907 may be said to cover, generally, three distinct areas of ground: namely, (1) the area to the west of the *main shrine*, which was brought to light by Mr. F. O. Oertel in 1905, (2) the area to the east of the same structure, and (3) the area to the north of the last mentioned, which we may designate the "monastery" area. To facilitate our description of the work, each of these areas will be dealt with separately in the order indicated. In addition, there will also be a few other miscellaneous items of work to be described, which do not fall naturally into any of these three divisions.

Area to the west of the Main Shrine.

The concrete floor around the *main shrine* marks a relatively late epoch in the history of Sārnāth, and one of the initial objects of last season's excavations was to examine the ground below it, particularly in the neighbourhood of the Aśōka pillar. The floor was accordingly removed in front of the western porch, leaving a strip of concrete, approximately 3′ 10″ wide, parallel to the shrine, in order to afford a passage way and at the same time keep the foundations of the shrine secure. At this place, the concrete is about one foot thick, consisting of several (at least five) distinct layers, superimposed one above the other at different epochs. Underneath the floor, at a distance of 12′ from the shrine, three stone steps were laid bare, the topmost of which was found about 1′ 1″ below the upper surface of the concrete, while the lowest was some 3′ below. These steps do not appear to bear any relation to the *main shrine*, as neither do they run parallel to it nor does their centre line coincide with the centre of the west façade.

The stairs lead down to a stone pavement which surrounds the Aśōka pillar, and measures 18′ 10″ from north to south and 16′ 9″ from east to west. This pavement (No. 1 in site plan), which was broken on the south side, was to a great extent composed of stones taken from older structures, among which were found bases of images, carved stones, rail-bars and other architectural fragments. Among them may be noticed, particularly, the sculpture shown in Plate XIX, 1. It belongs to the Gupta period and is the latest of all. The rest, which belong to the late Mauryan epoch, are exemplified in Plate XIX, 2 and 3. A photograph of the steps and stone pavements


PLAN OF
SARNATH EXCAVATIONS
SCALE IN FEET
10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 200
N
JAGAT SINGH STUPA
MAIN SHRINE
ASOKA PILLAR
WESTERN AREA
EASTERN AREA
MONASTERY AREA

given in figure 1. It may be surmised that both were constructed at a time when the ground around the pillar had risen, in order to keep the inscription on it open to view.

With a view to examine the ground below the stone pavement round the pillar the stones on the west and north side were carefully numbered and removed to the museum. Digging was then continued and, at a depth of $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet below the stone pavement, the brick walls shown in Plate XVIII were laid bare around the pillar. The innermost one, which had already been struck by Mr. F. O. Oertel when he sank a shaft



Fig. 1.

to the bottom of the column, contained six layers of large bricks (average size, $16\frac{3}{4} \times 11'' \times 2\frac{3}{4}''$). The next, which was separated from the innermost by a narrow space about 2″ broad, contained five courses and rested on a thin layer of concrete which extended outwards from the foot of the inner wall, and had evidently done duty as a floor. Extending over the top of both these walls was another concrete floor, the limits of which could not be ascertained. It averaged $3\frac{1}{2}''$ in thickness, and was 2′ 6″ below the stone pavement described above, thus marking another stage in the various floors which were laid one above the other at different dates as the ground around the column gradually rose.[1] The third and fourth walls start approximately from the same foundation level as the inner ones, and the fourth rises to within about eight

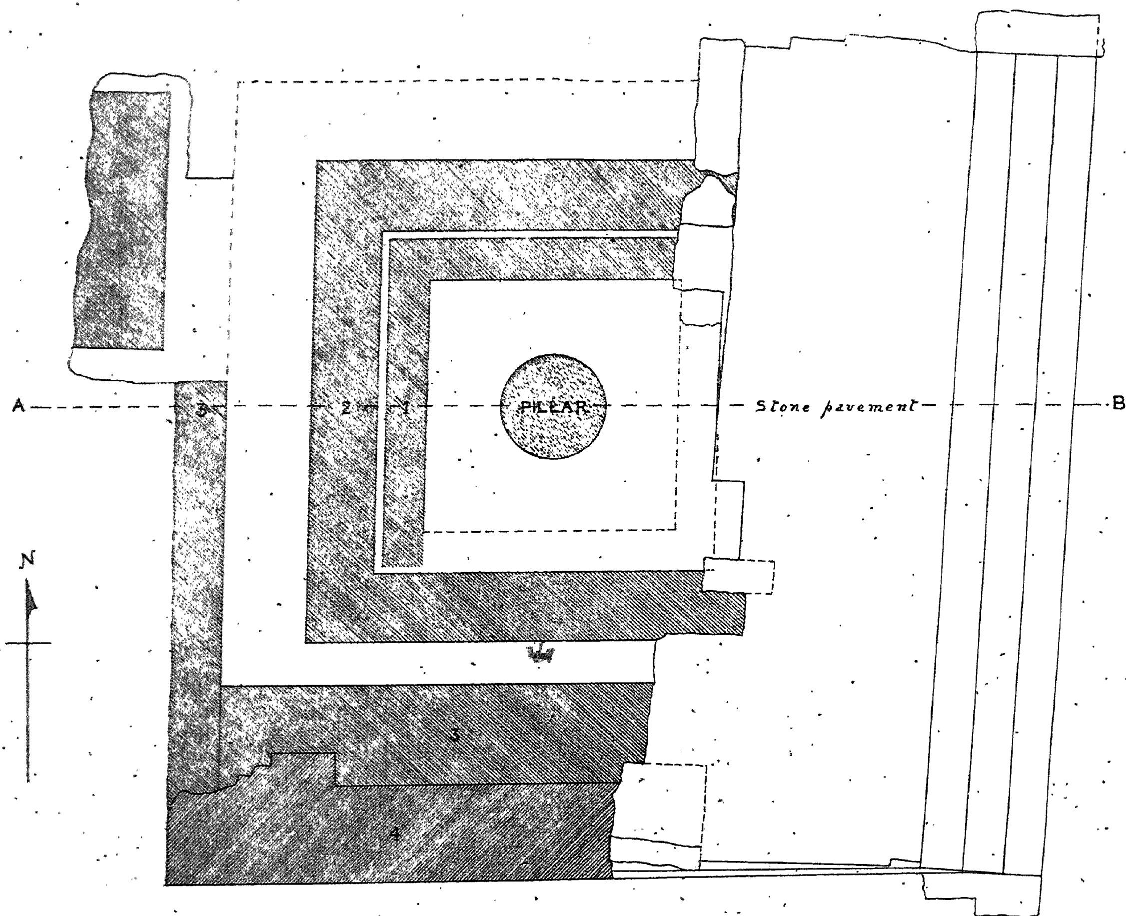
[1] Over this concrete floor, on the east side, were five layers of brick.

inches of the stone pavement. The third wall is composed of bricks of the same size as the second; the fourth of brickbats, well cut and moulded on the outer surface. What precisely was the purpose of these walls is not altogether evident, but they would seem to have formed a sort of *chabūtra* or platform round the column, the size of which increased as time went on. A little to the north of the stone pavement, and near its north-west corner, a fine alms-bowl was brought to light, about 3′ below the level of the pavement. It is of black clay, smeared apparently on the outside with a mucilaginous gum, which has imparted to it a glossy surface. From the section of the pillar and its surroundings, it will be observed that the lower part of the shaft to a height of 7′ 5″ was left undressed. This portion was, of course, left buried in the ground from the outset, and we may assume that the dividing line between the rough and polished surfaces marks the ground level when the column was first erected. We shall see later on that bases of various buildings have come to light approximately at this level and we can hardly be wrong in assigning them to the Mauryan period. The polished part of the pillar, it should be added, begins at a depth of 6′ 9½″ below the stone pavement, and 8′ below the bottom of the inscription, while the distance from the top of the innermost brick wall to the stone paving is 2′ 8½″, and up to the base of the inscription 3′ 11″.

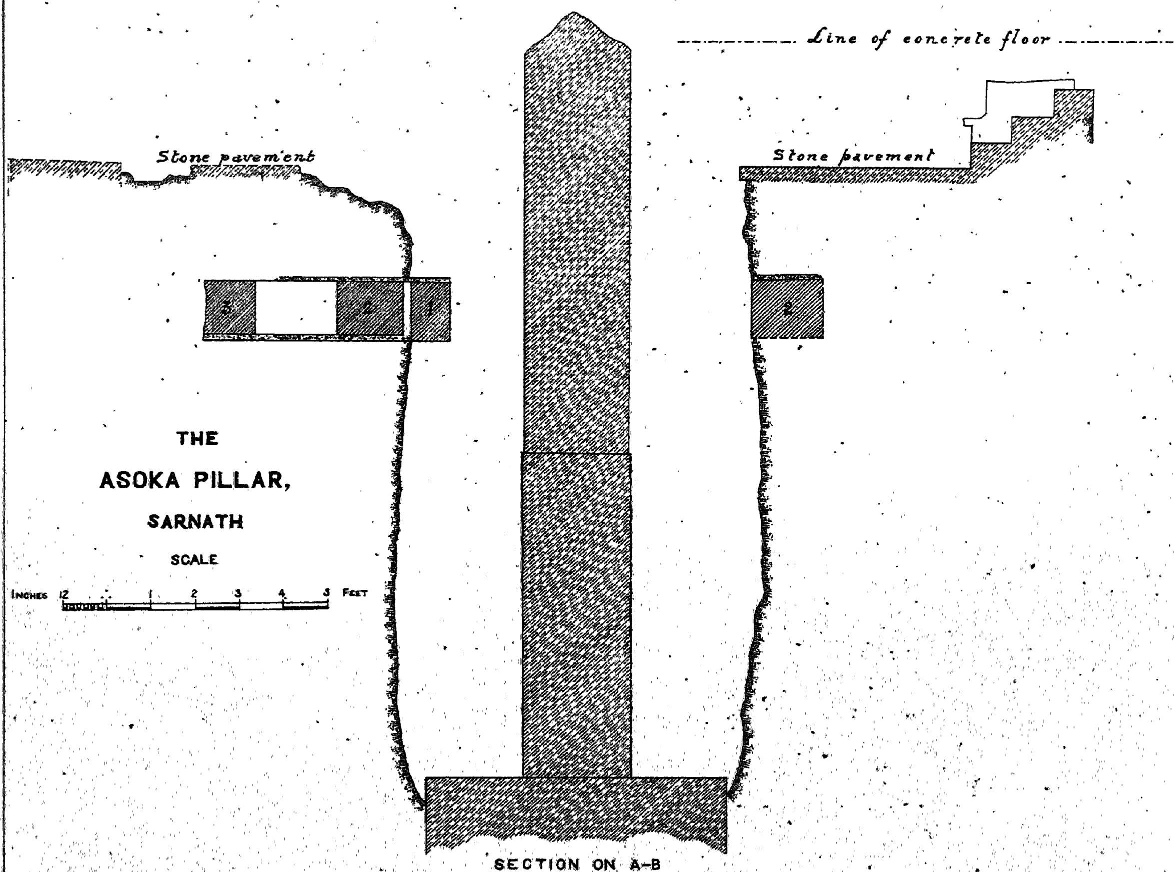
Continuing the digging, a trench was next sunk to the east of the stone steps, in order to ascertain if traces could be found of the foundations of any structure to which the steps might have led. No such structure, however, existed, the only remains which came to light being two small walls which run in an easterly direction under the *main shrine*. The wall to the north was plain; that to the south was faced with plaster, with traces of painting on it. Probably it belonged to a small *stūpa* or shrine.

At the north end of the steps is a short brick wall (*a. a.* in plan) running in a northerly direction, between which and the *main shrine* four *stūpas* came to light. The one near the north end of the stairs (3) is square with recessed corners, built of bricks measuring 8″ to 10″ × 5″ × 2½″ and bearing traces of plaster. It has, on the west side, been partly overbuilt by another square *stūpa* (2), which runs on under the topmost stone of the steps. To the north of this *stūpa* are two other ones (4 and 5) built on the same level, side by side, 2′ 11″ below the concrete pavement. The former has the same shape as that just described (bricks 8¾″ × 6¾″ × 2¾″); No. 5 is quadrangular with plaster-covered mouldings. No small finds were made in laying bare these structures, but a defaced sitting Buddha was dug out about 4′ below the concrete floor between them and the Aśōka pillar.

A little to the east of this group of *stūpas* is another long wall (*b. b.* in plan) running along the west front of the *main shrine* and beyond it towards both the north and the south. (See fig. 2.) It has not as yet been laid bare in its whole length in either direction, but its length, as at present ascertained, is some 145 feet. In the course of following it up and clearing the early structures alongside it, it was necessary to remove one or two of the later foundations brought to light by Mr. Oertel. In the case of one of these, *viz.*, the round *stūpa* with irregular base shown in Mr. Oertel's plan to the north-west of the *main shrine*, it was found that an older structure existed beneath it, in which an image of Avalōkitēśvara was found



PLAN



SECTION ON A-B

(Plate XIX, 8).[1] Another image of the Buddha in the teaching attitude with traces of red paint (Plate XIX, 7)[2] also came to light in this building[3], a little to the east of the last mentioned.



Fig. 2.

To return, however, to the long wall which we were describing. In front of the *main shrine* it follows, roughly, the conformation of the building, but extends well beyond it to the north. Near the north-west corner of the *shrine* it was giving way, and had to be partly rebuilt in order to secure the foundations of the *shrine*. Along the west front of the *shrine* the wall runs under the façade of the *shrine* itself and in order to provide a passage in front, a new wall had to be built up. This addition has been shown without shading in the plan.

At the south-west corner of the *shrine*, also, the wall had partly fallen, but it was picked up again, parallel to the *shrine*, in the first recess, and thence traced southwards, partly overbuilt by more modern structures. The base of this wall goes down about six feet below the concrete pavement. Here and there on its western face are remnants of *chunam* plaster, which, however, are too broken to allow us to determine with certainty the precise level of the original floor on this side. The size of the bricks used in it varies from $15\frac{1}{2}''$ to $8'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$, the biggest ones being found generally towards the base. Various small antiquities were found alongside the wall. About 18′ south of the *main shrine*, a fragment of highly polished sandstone, perhaps originally belonging to the sandstone railing in the south chapel of the *shrine*, was found three feet below the concrete on the north side of the wall. Carved stones and bricks and pieces of pottery were brought to light at different

[1] *Cf.* List of sculptures, No. 32. [2] Cf. *ibid*, No. 1.
[3] Indicated in Mr. Oertel's plan by an irregular line.

levels all along the wall. Of more importance was a fine capital of a pillar, found 4 9″ below the level of the concrete floor, 10′ from the north-west corner of the *main shrine*. The capital belongs to the late Mauryan period and is finely carved (Pl. XIX, 4-5 and 6). On one face is represented a horse and rider, and on the other an elephant with two mahauts, while on the sides are Perso-Ionic volutes and palmettes. Above the capital was a layer of bricks, (15½″ long × 4½″ thick). These were abutting against the wall, and had to be removed in order to reach the capital.

Six feet further north was found a boldly carved terracotta ornament, of the early Gupta period, 2½ feet below the level of the concrete, and 20 feet still further north, at the point where the wall turns eastward, a defaced mediæval Buddha statue. It is noticeable that the concrete floor around the *main shrine* does not extend as far north-west as this point.

Among the structures at the north end of the long wall two broken bowls, a plaster head, some clay lamps and parts of statues, etc., were found. The most interesting of these is a small votive *stūpa* of the late mediæval type (Pl. XIX, 9[1]). A very fine alms-bowl of brown clay was also found 9′ north of the wall and 18′ north-west of the north-west corner of the *main shrine*.

To the south-west of the *main shrine*, the long wall is overbuilt with several other structures. One of these was the building shown on Mr. Oertel's plan near the south-west corner of the *main shrine*. In this building, several antiquities were found, notably a fine pilaster and a terracotta spiral on the north, and the capital of a pillar on the west. At this point, the long wall runs under the eastern side of the quadrangle. This quadrangle is composed of two layers of walls, one built above the other with a slightly different orientation. The average size of the bricks in the lower walls is 11″×2½″ on the exposed face; those of the upper walls are of various irregular sizes. The building K on Mr. Oertel's plan on the north side of this quadrangle appears to be the basement of a *stūpa*; it stands 3′ high and is built of bricks measuring 17″×10½″×2½″. As it now became difficult to follow up the long wall on its west side, an attempt was made to pick it up on the east. The trial trench sunk for that purpose, however, soon revealed the existence of several structures which, unfortunately, there was no time to lay bare completely. The most important of these is the building marekd 7 in the plan. The plinth will probably be found to be rectangular in plan with recessed corners. Only one corner, however, has as yet been excavated. It is built of bricks measuring 16½″×9½″ to 11¼″×2¾″. The mouldings of this plinth (*cf.* Pl. XXI, *b*) are of interest by reason of their quasi-classical form. They consist of a *torus* and *scotia* with fillets between. The bricks for these mouldings were modelled before being baked. There is no trace of chiselling on them. A few remnants of plaster were found adhering here and there when the plinth was first laid bare, but they quickly fell off on exposure to the air.

Below this plinth remnants of an older wall (8) protrude, built of bricks 16½″×12″ ×3″. It is of interest to compare the levels of these walls with that of the stone pavement round the Aśōka pillar. The base of the protruding wall (8) is 7′ 1″ below the stone pavement, and a few inches below the line that divides the rough and polished surface of the pillar, while the base of the plinth above (7) is a few inches higher.

[1] *Cf.* List of sculptures, No. 58.

EXCAVATIONS AT SARNATH.



1



4



6



3



2



5



7



8



9

Four and a half feet east of the protruding wall another one, parallel to it and constructed of the same sized bricks, runs underneath the plinth referred to. At this place various broken potteries and sculptured stones were brought to light. Among them may be noticed a piece of Mauryan carving (Pl. XX, 1 and 2), found 4′ to the east of this wall and 3′ below the concrete. On one side of the stone is a *dharmachakra* surrounded by four symbols (? *kūrmachakra*) and by four lotus flowers ; and flanking it on either side is a *triśūla* surmounting a wheel. On the other side of the stone is a tree with hanging garlands and apparently a platform around it or a throne in front of it. To the left of this tree is a pillar with a Persepolitan capital surmounted by an uncertain figure. The remainder of this side is taken up with foliage.

The only other structures on the south side of the Aśōka pillar to be noticed here are a group of *stūpas* marked 10, 11, and 12 in the plan. All three are of the same shape and are built side by side on the same floor, which consists of a double course of bricks and brickbats of varying sizes covered with a thin layer of plaster. This floor is 4′ 4″ below the level of the concrete surrounding the *main shrine*—as will be seen from the plan and photograph (fig. 3). The plinths of the *stūpas*



Fig. 3.

are cruciform, with recesses in each corner. Above the plinth is a round drum surmounted by a dome. The upper part has been much damaged in all the *stūpas ;* but least so in the westernmost (12), which has not yet been completely excavated. The northernmost of these *stūpas* was opened but nothing was found inside ; nor were any antiquities of interest discovered near them, with the exception of some carved terracottas of the Gupta period.

To the west and north-west of the Aśōka pillar numerous small *stūpas* were laid bare. Most of them are approximately on the same level as the concrete pavement

around the *main shrine*. The bricks used in these structures are not specially large, and in a number of cases bricks of different sizes have been used in one and the same building, quantities of them having obviously been taken from older edifices. Many of these memorials can, on structural and other grounds, be assigned to about the same late period as the *main shrine*, while others, again, are referable to the late Gupta epoch. This divergence of dates is reflected also in the minor antiquities found near the different buildings. One of the earliest finds made in this part of the site was a Buddha image (Pl. XX, 6) with an inscription belonging to the eleventh century A.D.[1] As can be seen from the plan, these *stūpas* are arranged for the most part in rows, apparently in relation to the *main shrine*. Several rows run, roughly, parallel with the west front of the *main shrine*, while others follow the line of the north side.

Of the *stūpas* not contained in these rows but set here and there apparently without any definite plan, several are of exceptional interest. In particular we may notice the structure marked 13 in the plan, north-west of the western entrance of the *main shrine*. The accompanying illustration (fig. 4) shows its general features—



Fig. 4.

a square moulded plinth, and a round superstructure with a niche facing the east, in which there must once have been a statue. In the narrow passage between this structure and the neighbouring one to the south was found a fragment of a stone umbrella with a Pali record inscribed upon it, belonging to the second or third century A.D. (See below, Inscriptions No. III.)

Other interesting antiquities were found in the same neighbourhood. Just in front of the neighbouring *stūpa* to the south (14) the base of a mediæval image

[1] *Cf.* List of sculptures, No. 5.



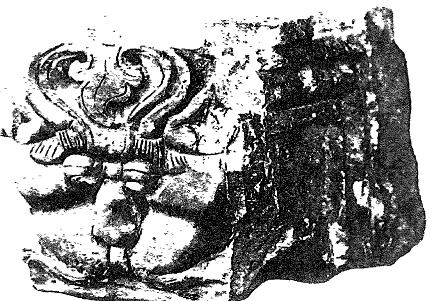
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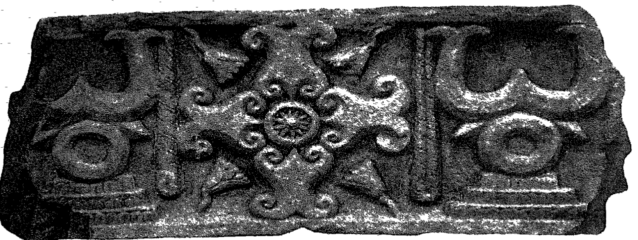
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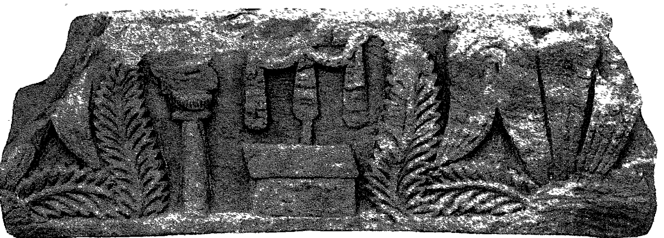
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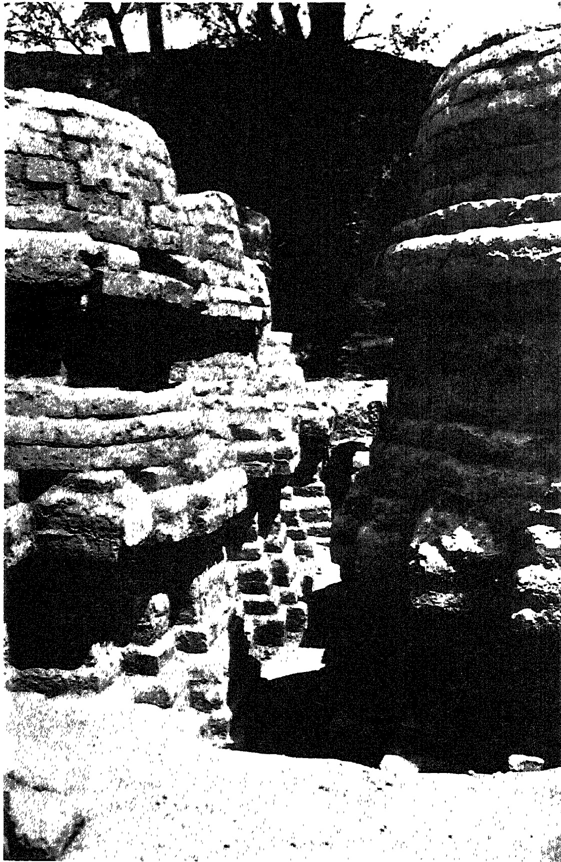
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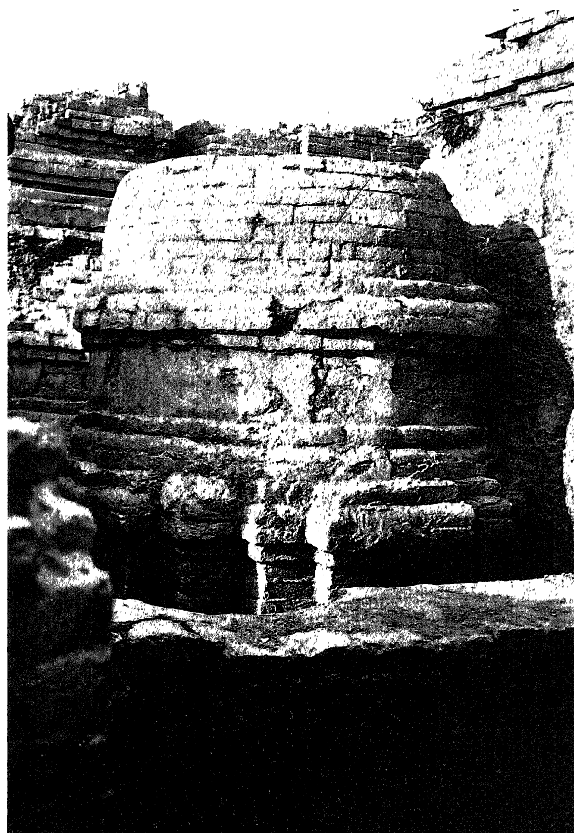
(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)

was unearthed, 1′ below the level of the concrete. To the west of the same *stūpa*, again, and about 4′ below the concrete, part of a lintel of Gupta date (Pl. XX, 5) was turned up, and, further west, part of a statue of Gupta date with a garland-bearing Gandharva flying to the right. A carved stone also of the Gupta period was found 8′ north of the north-west corner of the *stūpa* (13) and 5½′ below the surface.

Some antiquities were likewise dug out in the neighbourhood of the series of *stūpas* shown on the plan as running east to west to the north of the *stūpa* 13, notably some fragments of Buddha statues, including a seated image (Pl. XX, 3) [1].

To the west of the *stūpa* 13 are a series of four *stūpas*, running from north to south, the southernmost of which is figured as No. 15 in the plan; and to the west of these, again, is another row of eight structures. At the north-west corner of this latter row was found a carved stone similar to that illustrated in Plate XX, 5; and between the second and third *stūpas* from the north, Nos. 17 and 18, a relief with several figures of the Buddha[2] together with a small terracotta jar. Another similar relief [3] was lying on the top of the *stūpa* No. 18 (*cf.* Pl. XX, 4). Of greater interest was a sculptured slab found *in situ* fixed into the south side of the *stūpa* 20, and containing illustrations of the principal scenes from the Buddha's life[4]. The Buddha image illustrated in Plate XX, 6, and bearing an inscription of the eleventh century A. D., was found close to the south-east corner of the structure.

In addition to the host of small *stūpas* to the west of the *main shrine*, some larger structures were also brought to light. One of them, in the south-west corner of this part of the site (22 on site plan), had already been struck by Mr. Oertel. It is, without doubt, a *stūpa*, divided up, as often happens, into compartments, which were filled with débris and constituted the foundations of the building. All the corners of this edifice, with the exception of the south-east one, are more or less damaged[5]. The central room in the western row is longer than the others. In front of the *stūpa*, on the east side, at a distance of 1′ 4″ from it, is a wall 3′ thick and 2′ 2″ high, built of brickbats. This wall may be assumed to have been returned around all four faces of the *stūpa*, and to have formed the foundation of its outer platform. Its exterior face has a thin coating of plaster. At a later date, a second wall of rubble, about 3′ 6″ broad, was added, and above it a thick layer of concrete, which extends over part of the inner wall also. Very few small antiquities were found inside this building. In the central chamber, on the west side, the fragment of a hand holding the fold of a garment turned up, and at the north-west corner, a gold nose ornament and the arm of a statue. Outside, however, the minor antiquities were more numerous. Among them may be noticed a carved brick, dating from about the eighth century A.D. and part of a brittle stone ring found on the north side; a seated Buddha found on the south side; and a carved brick with a short inscription in Gupta characters, and several seals near the east side. The seals bear a legend which refers them to the "Gandhakuṭī of the Exalted One in the monastery of the wheel of the good law" (*Cf.* Inscriptions—No. V below.)

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1 *Cf.* List of sculptures No. 3. Found 3′ 6″ below the surface to the north of the easternmost of these *stūpas.*

2 List, 55. Found 3′ below surface.

3 List, 54.

4 List, 51.

5 The bricks used in this building are of varying sizes, such as 9″ × 4½″ × 2¾″; 10″ × 5½″ × 2¾″; 9″ × 8″ × 2¾″.

To the north of the last mentioned structure is another building of considerable dimensions (23 in plan). It consists of walls built at various periods. The oldest part of it appears to be the quadrangular foundation at the north-east corner, which is built of large bricks, $15'' \times 10'' \times 2\frac{3}{4}''$. The northern wall is also relatively early, and is better preserved than most of the remaining portion. The building is, unfortunately, much damaged, and it will never be possible to reconstruct its plan in its entirety. More of it, however, may yet come to light in the ground towards the north and west. Architectural fragments, carved bricks and stones and pottery were found at several points in and around this building, among them being part of a seated Buddha statue found at the south-west extremity of the building, and some finely carved terracotta bricks of the Gupta epoch (*Cf.* Pl. XX, 7).

To the north of the structure just described a deep trial trench was carried in a north-westerly direction. Very few and unimportant finds were made here until near the edge of the *jhīl*, where a singularly massive wall was struck, running from north to south. The extent to which this wall has been followed up will be clearly seen from the plan. That it forms the boundary of the *saṅghārāma* on the western side is plain from its proximity to the *jhīl*, but the smaller walls abutting on to it at right angles and at regular intervals on its eastern face leave no room for doubt that it formed also the outer wall of a monastery. The wall has been opened up to a depth of 14′ from the surface. It appears from its construction to belong to two different periods, but further investigations will be necessary to determine this. A finely carved stone—part of a nimbus—was found a little east of the southern end and about 7′ below the surface ; and immediately at the southern end a refuse heap was disclosed, containing potteries, carved bricks, beads, etc.

Eastern Area.[1]

The excavation to the east of the *main shrine* covered a rectangular area measuring about 200 feet from north to south and some 125 feet from east to west. The first thing taken in hand in this area was the laying bare of the concrete floor which had been exposed by Mr. Oertel on the other three sides of the *main shrine* and was also visible here and there on this side. A trench about 10′ wide and 55′ long was drawn in the first instance in front of the shrine, and, on the appearance of a floor, the digging was extended both north and south and the floor followed up. In the northern direction it came to an end some 20 feet north of the structure marked 36 on Plate XVII, and was terminated on the south by the ruinous structure numbered 32 on the plan. Towards the east it continued intact for some 60 feet from the eastern façade of the *main shrine* as far as the low concrete step abutting on the broad approach to be described presently. A large gap, measuring over 36′ long by 6′ broad, exists near the eastern limit of the floor, due obviously to a cutting made by previous excavators.

As regards the construction of the floor, what has been said above about it on the west side of the *main shrine* applies equally to it on this side, only that the concrete floor in this eastern area was found to have been laid on a substratum of stone work practically co-extensive with the concrete above. The stone foundation was, however,

[1] The account which follows of the Eastern Area has been mainly written by Pt. Daya Ram, who took charge of the digging in this part of the site.



EASTERN AREA: VIEW OF STŪPAS IN N.E. CORNER.



EASTERN AREA: GENERAL VIEW FROM NORTH

by no means quite continuous; for there were gaps noticeable everywhere. The best preserved portion occurred immediately in front of the eastern doorway of the *main shrine*, and, when it was dismantled, it was found to be composed of slabs of varying sizes and character. Some of them were mere undressed blocks, while others were elegantly carved, the most conspicuous among them being:—

(1) A rectangular *āyāgapaṭa* slab in the Mauryan style, broken at one end. The left portion is occupied by a figure similar to the one which opens the Hāthi gumphā inscription at Khaṇḍagiri, and is identified by Dr. Rajendralal Mitra with the tantric *kūrmachakra*, though, as he rightly points out, the omission of the tail cannot be accounted for. The remaining surface is taken up by an ornamental wheel surrounded by four *triśūlas* and lotus buds. The slab was originally painted red.

(2) Another slab in the same style, incomplete at both ends, representing a double *triratna* and a *svastika* engraved in the fashion of the Greek fret.

A smaller piece of the stone foundation, 10′ to the south of the portion noticed above, yielded four specimens of typical Gupta sculpture—*vide* Nos. 15, 59, 60, and 61 of the list of sculptures at the end of this article. A few feet further south was found a base stone (*ālabanaṁ*), bearing a short inscription (No. I of the list of inscriptions) in characters of the second century B.C. Another inscribed railstone (No. II of list of inscriptions) was originally dedicated about the same period, but was converted into a lamp-post of the *mūlagandhakuṭī* in the fourth or fifth century A. D. A third railstone found not far from the above dates from the sixth century A.D. (List of inscriptions, IX).

The approach alluded to above is a well-built pathway paved with concrete, by which the monks approached the *main shrine* from the east. It is wonderfully well preserved for the fifty feet or so that have so far been exhumed, and is flanked on the south by three cruciform plinths joined one to the other by a common wall (c. c. on Pl. XVII). A considerable importance attaches to the approach from the stately array of carvings that were found scattered over it. The most interesting among these are fragments of a slab of the eighth or ninth century A.D., representing the eight chief events of the Buddha's career (Pl. XXVIII, fig. 4), images of Mañjuśrī (Pl. XXIII, 10), the Buddha (Pl. XXIII, 8), a Bōdhisattva (Pl. XXIII, 2) and an inscribed votive *stūpa* [1]. Among the rest were the arms and head of a colossal sandstone statue and a stone panel of the seventh or eighth century, carved with scroll work of a peculiarly intricate type, interspersed with birds, etc.

Built on to this approach was a ruined plastered niche, No. 33 in the plan, 5′ square internally and composed of bricks measuring $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2''$. Inside it were found six carvings, two of which, presumably representing Tārā and Vajrasattva, are described in the list below (Nos. 45 and 37). Two others, constituting the *kalaśa* of a donative *stūpa*, are reproduced in Plate XXIII, 7.

That the concrete floor was also not devoid of buildings was proved by the discovery of the foundations of two square structures (Nos. 34, 35 in plan) consisting of moulded stones about a foot high, of which there were eight in No. 34 and nine in the other. The interior was filled with earth, in which were found two fragmentary

[1] For descriptions of these see Nos. 50, 33, 9, 38, and 58 of the list below.

sculptures, representing a full-blown lotus and a broken arm. A little to the east of No 34 lay seven carvings, of which a Buddha head and a fragment of a halo may be mentioned

About a dozen other structures, which were unearthed on the level of the concrete floor and are approximately contemporaneous with it, are plinths of *stūpas* of the usual square shape. Two of these, found towards the northern end of this area, had to be demolished to bring to light the structures concealed underneath them. Of the rest, the largest one (No. 29 of plan) is cross-shaped, measuring 15½′ along each side. Its present height is only 13″, and the usual size of bricks 15″×6″×2½″. No. 25, situated a few feet to the south of it, is an irregular platform interesting by reason of two sandstone pedestals standing on it. The one facing westward is 3′ long and 1′ broad, and belongs doubtlessly to the huge Bōdhisattva statue, No. $\overset{B}{287}$ of Mr. Oertel's finds. The connection between them is proved by the fact that the feet, which still remain on the pedestal, precisely fit the base of the broken statue and retain, like the statue, clear vestiges of the red paint which covered the whole. It should be noticed that this statue is in the Kushaṇa style and must originally have belonged to some building of that period. The image which stood on the other pedestal could not be traced. The remaining plinths arrange themselves into two rows running nearly parallel to each other to the east of the last-mentioned structure. The southern row, which comprises four such structures, is partially buried under a long wall to be noticed below. All these structures have nearly the same orientation and are made up of bricks varying in size from 8½″×6½″×2½″ to 13″×9″×2½″ laid in mud, but plastered on the outside with *chunam* which still adheres to a few of them. Underneath Nos. 26 and 31 were observed remains of earlier *stūpas* which could not be exposed for lack of time.

The digging was then continued to lower levels, and the first edifice that came to light was a large court (No. 36, Pl. XVII) measuring 47½′ from north to south and 27½′ broad internally. The walls are only 2′5″ thick, and the foundations about a foot deep, so that, if they ever carried a roof, it must have been a light wooden one supported on wooden columns. There was only one entrance, *viz*, in the middle of the east wall, and that without doors. The commonest sizes of bricks used in the building are 17″×11¾″×2¾″ and 15″×9″×1¾″, but many bats are visible. The back wall shows only the larger size and is, with its extensions on both the north and south sides of the court, covered with a thick coating of lime plaster which does not appear on any of the remaining walls. The latter, too, though bonded in between themselves, are only built on to the west wall, which consequently seems to have originally formed part of a somewhat earlier building now presumably buried under the main shrine.

The surface of the interior is laid out in a solid brick and concrete paving, about 7′ below the concrete floor around the main shrine. A curious feature of the west wall is a projection in the form of a solid platform, 11½′ wide, built between retaining walls 8′ long and running about 2′ in advance of the former. The platform is much ruined at the top and it was not possible to ascertain its purpose.

The south, east, and north walls of the building were furnished on the outside with a stone railing comprising 74 uprights and 108 cross-bars. Of these only one pair of

uprights with lozenge-shaped cross-bars, $10\frac{1}{2}''$ long and $4\frac{3}{4}''$ wide, now remain in position at the western end of the north wall, but the marks on the face of the walls, where others have been, are distinctly visible (Pl. XXI *c*). In order to secure the rails in position against the face of the wall, the interstices between the uprights and the cross-bars were filled in with brickwork, which projects to half the width of the stone uprights. This brickwork has mostly decayed between the uprights, but is well preserved at their back. The two uprights which are extant, measure $8\frac{3}{4}''$ deep, $10\frac{1}{2}''$ broad and 5′ high, of which the lowest foot is buried in the ground. The cross-bars are 2′ 2″ long. Of the coping-rail only one stone was found. (*cf.* No. 1 of list of inscriptions). It is 6′ 6″ long, 11″ broad and 14″ high, with curved edges at the top. The few parts of the railing so far discovered are quite plain, but its age is determined by the Mauryan inscription on the cope-stone, referred to above. Now, if we judge by the antiquities found on the floor of this court and the level it occupies with regard to the monuments unearthed in the western area, we find that the date of the court can not be earlier than the fourth or fifth century. It is obvious, therefore, that the railing attached to it originally surrounded some earlier building and was shifted here at a later date.

Only four antiquities were discovered in the interior of this building. The earliest of these are two very highly polished convex fragments of reddish sandstone, closely grooved on the concave side, in early Mauryan style. Somewhat later than these is the top portion of a corner column of a railing measuring 2′ 5″ high and $6\frac{1}{2}''$ square. Two of the faces contain socket-holes to receive the ends of cross-bars. One of the other two is divided into panels, of which the upper one represents a *stūpa* complete with relic chamber *hti* and flags, and encircled by a railing of the usual type. Beneath the *stūpa* appears a structure with two doors, in each of which stands a figure now much defaced. The lower panel is carved with a conventional lotus plant bearing flowers in different stages of development. The other face is decorated with five full-blown lotuses springing from a wavy stem. The delineation is quite vigorous and well worthy of the age to which it belongs. The last and latest of these objects is a fragment of a pillar decorated with a male figure and jewelled foliage in the typical Gupta style.

In front of the north jamb of the court described above there came to light a small rectangular cell about $2\frac{1}{2}'$ broad internally. The ends of the east and west walls are both broken and their length could not therefore be determined. The walls now stand 2′ high and are 1′ 10″ thick, the bricks used in them measuring approximately $10'' \times 10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$. The floor is paved in brick and the walls plastered with *chunam*. On its back or south wall was the ruin of a later wall, 9′ long and 3′ thick, with the end of a long stone threshold fixed into its eastern end, the other end of the threshold being fixed into a similarly constructed ruined wall, 13′ to the south. This threshold and the walls on each side of it belong to some epoch intermediate between the date of the concrete floor around the *main shrine* and that of No. 36, but to what building it gave entrance is not apparent.

The other jamb of the entrance has got a solid platform attached to it. Its north face measures five feet, and begins about a foot above the level of No. 36. The bricks of which it is composed, are about 16″ long and thus seem to have been appropriated from some earlier edifice.

The other structures unearthed on this level are, save a few walls, all *stūpas* in different states of preservation Three of them (Nos. 37, 38 and 39) have, practically, only their plinths left, the superstructure having totally disappeared in No. 38, while in the other two it survives in a few circular rings of brickwork which rise to the height of some 5 feet. No. 37 was opened but yielded nothing. Outside the structure, however, several objects of interest were found. One of them is a clay tablet, $\frac{3}{4}''$ in diameter, found at its foot on the west. It is stamped with a *pādukā* accompanied by the name *Māghasya* in Gupta characters. Some 12 feet to the south of its south-east corner lay a broken rail-post with an incomplete rosette, and, a little further away, a fragment of a stone frieze, 2′ 6″ high, containing a figure of the Buddha in the *dharmachakramudrā* in a deep circular niche. A head (Pl. XXIII, 3) found close to the above-mentioned corner, is somewhat remarkable, for while the hair is arranged in spiral curls precisely in the fashion of the Buddha's hair, the excrescence or bump of intelligence, one of the 32 greater marks of a Buddha, is absent.

Connected with No 38 is a brick floor, measuring about 23′ along each side, on which were discovered several pieces of sculptures and sundry architectural fragments. The most attractive among them is a broken pediment, representing a woman sitting with her face concealed between her arms on the knees. In front of the woman is some sort of a vessel and behind her a lotus bud.

A few feet to the west of No. 39 is a solid platform (No. 32) measuring 16′ 6″ along the south face, which was exposed to a depth of 3′ 6″. The size of bricks used in it is 14″ × 9″ × $2\frac{1}{2}$″. On its top exists a stone pedestal 5′ long and 14″ high, but none of the images which stood on it were found.

Turning to the northern portion of this area, we find an important structure (No. 40), brought to light some 34′ to the north of No. 36. It is the plinth of a large *stūpa*, the largest so far unearthed on the site except the Dhamēkh and Jagat Singh *stūpas*. It measures about 18′ square and has a projection 8′ broad and 1′ 6″ deep in the middle of each face. The mouldings with which it is adorned at the base are shown in fig. 5. The plinth is partly broken on the south side, but quite intact on the remaining three sides, where it rises to the height of 5′ 1″ above the level of the brick floor which surrounds the structure on all sides. The superstructure has all decayed away with the exception of remains of two niches, 2′ $6\frac{1}{2}$″ wide and 4′ deep, which adorned the drum on the east and north sides. These niches were bricked up at some later date, when the whole structure would seem to have been renewed. The eastern niche was freed from this filling and found to be plastered like the plinth below.

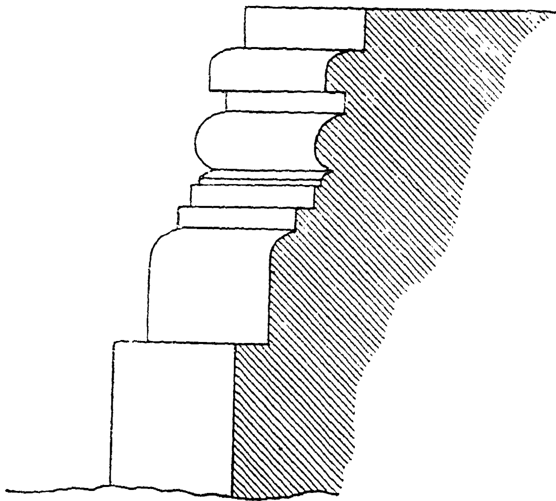
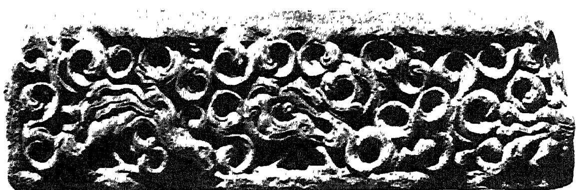


Fig. 5.

The structure was opened and a little below the top we came upon a stratum of unbaked clay tablets. In shape they are hemispherical with a diameter of between five and six inches. In the centre of the composition appears the Buddha, sitting

EXCAVATIONS AT SARNATH.


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in the *bhūmisparśamudrā* in a shrine surmounted by a spire, the latter having plainly been introduced by later engravers in imitation of the Bōdh-Gayā temple. The rest of the space is occupied by representations of votive *stūpas*, while below the Buddha is inscribed the Buddhist creed in characters of the eighth or ninth century. A little further down in the structure were found four sculptures, all of which are reproduced in Plate XXIII and described in the list as Nos. 10, 11, 12, and 40. It will be seen that all of these are Buddhist, with the exception, perhaps, of No. 11, which may depict Tryambaka holding the club (*khaṭvāṅga*) in his left hand and wearing the characteristic garland of skulls (*śavaśiraḥ-śrēṇi*), engaged in a merry dance on the body of a Jaina patriarch whom he has subdued.[1] The presence of an image of a Brahmanic god and the disparity between the age of these sculptures and the structure in which they were found, can easily be explained on the hypothesis that they were thrown into the structure at the time of the reconstruction referred to above.

A little to the east of No. 40 was exposed a wall running from north to south under a later one with a slightly different orientation, and, about the same distance to the north, another wall 16′ long and 2′-2″ thick. This wall is about 2′ high and imbedded in its top was found a well-baked bowl of black clay. A small area to the north of this wall would appear to have been one of the most sacred spots of Isipatana, consecrated, perhaps, by some hallowed associations, unknown at present to us. Seven *stūpas* are to be seen on it, and there are probably many more still concealed under the later structures. In style these *stūpas* are identical with the two unearthed a few feet to the south of the Aśōka pillar in the western area, and are still standing to the height of about 6 feet. Six of them are arranged in two rows of three, each perched on common terraces 2′ 6″ high. The drums are 2′ in height, but the domes survive only in a few courses. That the sanctity of the spot was maintained for a long time may be inferred from the fact that all of these structures have been rebuilt several times. Two of these *stūpas* were opened, but yielded nothing, and were built up again with the selfsame bricks. Another *stūpa* which came to light a few feet to the west of these does not differ from them in any respect.

Monastery Area.[2]

A trial trench drawn through this area in a northerly direction early showed signs of promise. After only a few hours' digging several large carved stones were found near the surface, plainly belonging to a building of massive dimensions; then came a small headless statue of the Buddha, bedded in ashes, three feet from the surface; and next a narrow passage between plastered walls with a mortised pedestal close beside it. As the digging widened out, a brick wall with a finely moulded plinth ending in what looked like the reveals of a doorway came into view. This plinth was at once followed up, first in a westerly and then, turning a corner, in a southerly direction, and it soon became manifest that it formed part of an important structure, and that this structure was the one from which the ponderous stone blocks first unearthed had

[1] Dr. Konow does not assent to this identification of the sculpture.—[J. H. M.]

[2] In compiling the account of the Monastery Area we have had the advantage of the daily notes made by Mr. W. H. Nicholls, late Archæological Surveyor, United Provinces and the Punjab.

come. At the point where the plinth was first struck, it was standing only to a height of a little over two feet. Behind it, however, towards the west were the deep brick foundations of various small chambers, and on the other (*i.e.*, western) face of these the moulded plinth was again picked up and proved to be in a much better state of preservation, there being several additional mouldings above those which had appeared on the eastern face. The height of the wall at this point up to the top of the mouldings is 5′ 4″, in addition to which there are remains of the plain brickwork above. With the two faces of the edifice thus ascertained, digging proceeded apace, and, before the season's work was brought to a close, we had laid bare enough of its walls to make sure of its character and practically of its plan also. That the building, with its rows of chambers, its paved courtyard and its well, was a monastery, must indeed be patent to anyone familiar with Buddhist architecture, and that it was designed more or less after the usual fashion with a large open court in the middle and rows of chambers around, may be regarded as an almost foregone conclusion. The extent of the structure excavated up to date is clearly indicated in red on the plan on Plate XXIV. The main body of the building, so far as it has yet been excavated, measures 123′ from north to south, but it may be expected that we shall find, further to the west, the same sort of projection on the north and south sides that we already have on the east, and the total measurement, north to south, will then amount to some 170′. The average height of the brick plinth on the inner face is about 5′ 7″, and on the outer face a few inches more. A photograph of the inner corner of the quadrangle is shown on Plate XXV, *a*, and a drawing of the details of the mouldings on Plate XXIV. Though flat and stencil-like, the carving on the brickwork is generally effective. The bricks themselves vary very much in size, but none hitherto measured have exceeded 12 inches in length, and an average size seems to be $8\frac{1}{4}'' \times 7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 2''$.

The facing bricks have true edges, the surfaces being chiselled, and in the neatness of their fitting bring to mind the beautiful brickwork of some of the earlier Pagān buildings. The inner foundations are built of rough unchiselled bricks; both foundation and superstructure walls are constructed with a core of brick-bats and débris. No mortar, it is perhaps needless to say, is used.

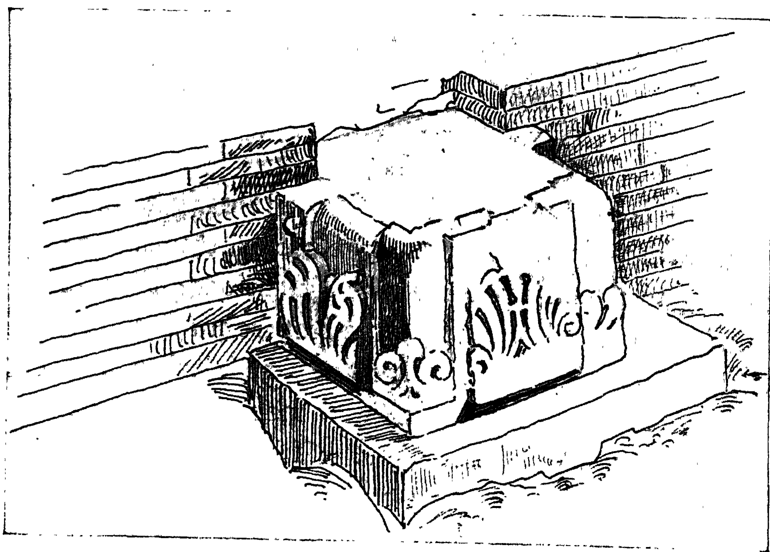
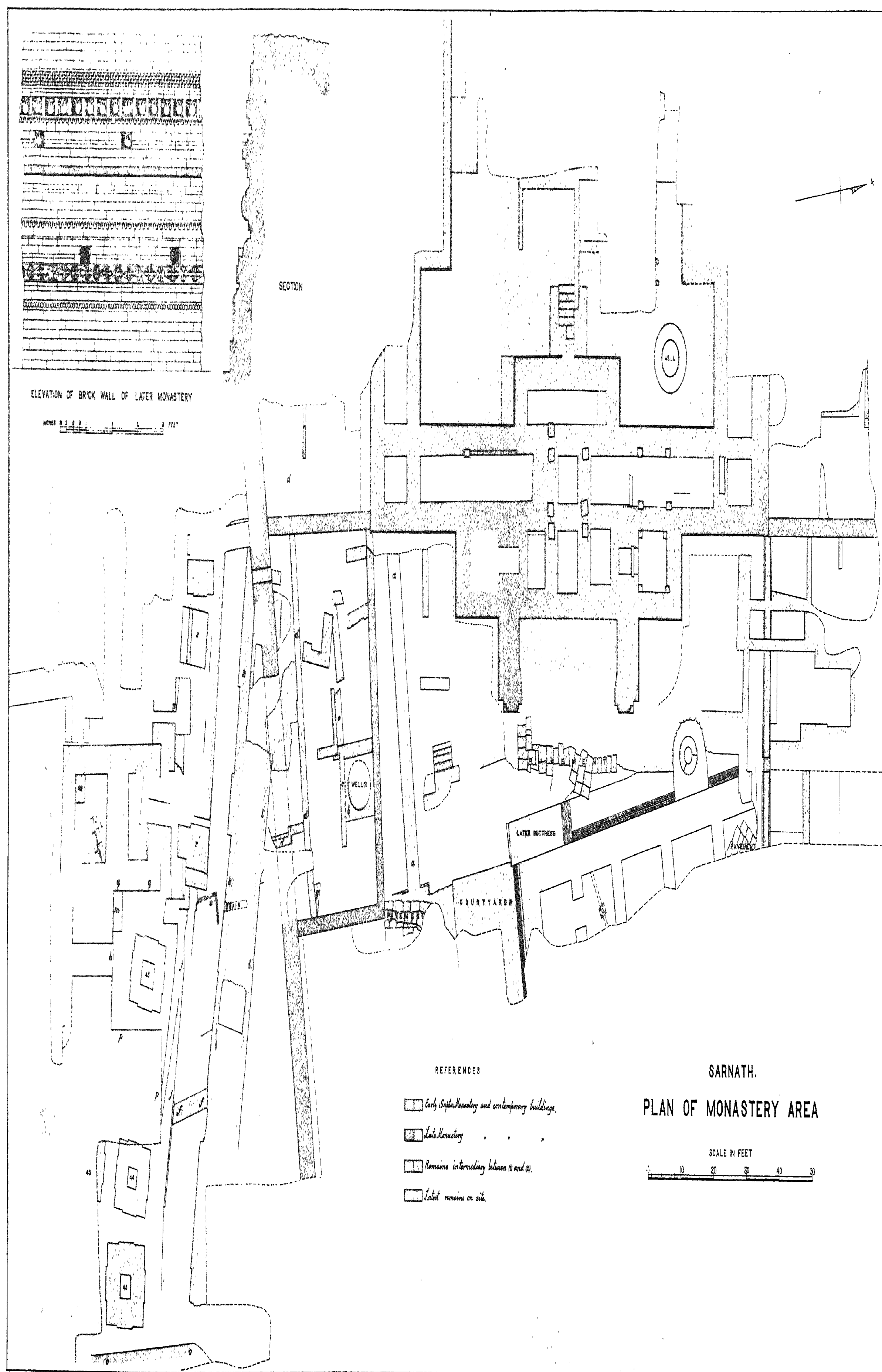
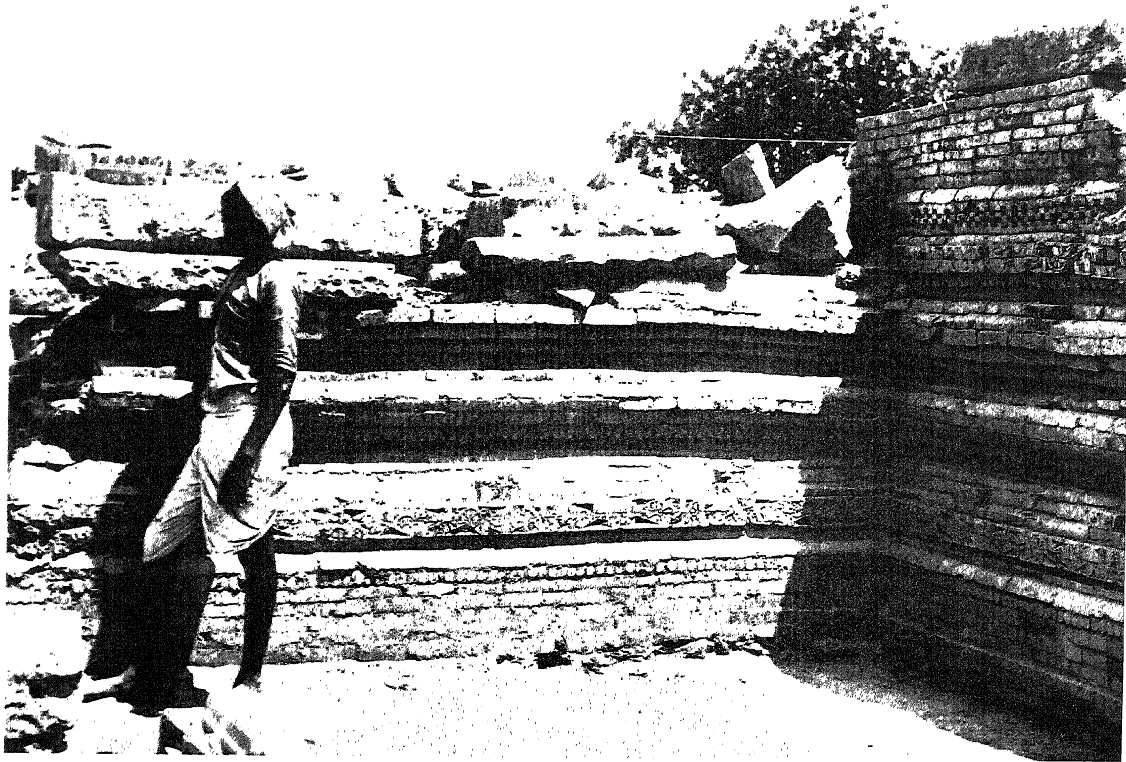


Fig. 6.

It will be seen, on reference to the plan on Plate XXIV, that the interior of the plinth was divided up into a number of chambers by cross foundation walls. We may take it that these foundations correspond to the rooms in the superstructure above. Of the latter little remains *in situ*; the best preserved chamber is the little one at the north end of the eastern


SECTION
ELEVATION OF BRICK WALL OF LATER MONASTERY
WELL
WELL
LATER BUTTRESS
PAVEMENT
COURTYARD
REFERENCES
Early (Gupta) Monastery and contemporary buildings.
Late Monastery
Remains intermediary between (1) and (2).
Latest remains on site.
SARNATH.
PLAN OF MONASTERY AREA
SCALE IN FEET
10
20
30
40
50



LATE MONASTERY: INNER CORNER OF QUADRANGLE



LATE MONASTERY: STEPS INSIDE QUADRANGLE.

row, with the stone bases of four corner pilasters (*cf.* fig. 6), and chiselled brick walling between them, rather less than two feet high. The floor of this chamber is 5′ 8″ above the ground level outside. A vast array of massive stones, comprising door jambs, lintels, *chhajjas*, ceiling slabs and other architectural members, were found among the débris in the courtyard and on the outside of the building, and it is plain from these that the superstructure was composed largely of stone, the brick-work seemingly being used only for walling between the carved stonework. Whether plaster was intended to be added on the chiselled surface of the walls, as was done in the case of the *stūpas* similarly built, is uncertain. No traces of it have been found, and it is probable that it never was applied to the walls, though it is possible that it may have been intended in the first place.

All the stone-work employed in this building appears to have been expressly made for it, for it is all carved and chiselled in precisely the same style[1], while, on the other hand, no architectural members belonging to older structures have been found among its débris. As in the case of the brickwork of the plinth, the stone carvings are very distinctive, bold and flowing in outline, but quite flat on the surface, and with none of the vitality and realism which characterise the work on the Dhamēkh *stūpa* and other sculptures of the Gupta age. Compare fig. 7 and Plate XXVI, 5.

The eastern entrance of the monastery must have presented an imposing appearance. The distance between the reveals is nearly 29′, and the whole of this space was apparently occupied by a broad flight of steps leading up to the plinth. The

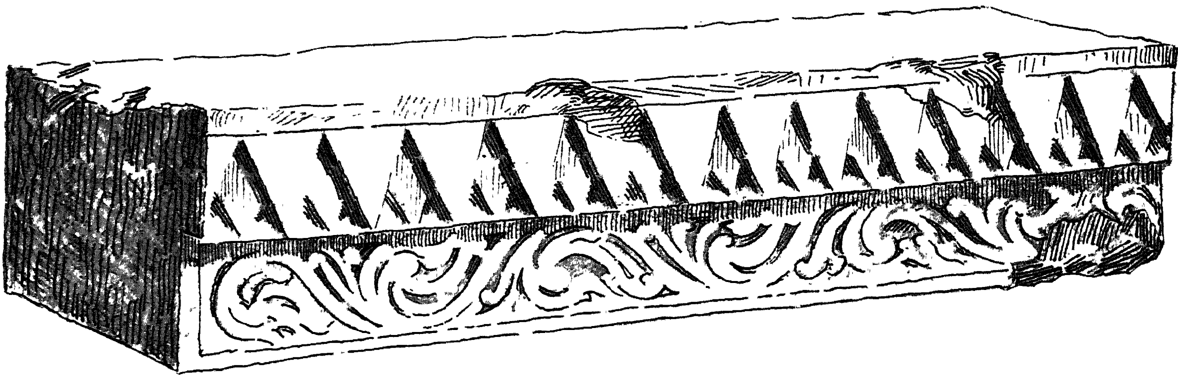


Fig. 7.

steps themselves no longer exist, but their position seems to be indicated by brick foundations rising to the height of the plinth between the reveals. The central chamber of the eastern side may thus be supposed to have done duty as a hall through which the monks could pass into the interior of the courtyard, the lower level of which was reached by another flight of steps shown in the photograph on Plate XXV, *b*. This latter flight is narrower than the steps on the outside, measuring only 11′ 5″ across.

The interior of the courtyard has a floor of hard lime plaster. Near the north-east corner is a well surrounded by a low parapet, 2′ 5″ broad and rising about one foot above the level of the courtyard. The layer of plaster with which the parapet is covered averages 6″ in thickness. The interior diameter of the well measures

[1] It is noteworthy that layers of masons' chips were found on the top of the plinth and at other places round about the monastery.

5′, and the bricks, which are laid most carefully, are of the same size as those used in the monastery walls. The courses are laid in the ordinary way for the first 4′ 4″, measuring from the top; then comes a ring laid as shown in fig. 8, then another 4′ 4″ of the usual brick-work, followed by another band, and so on down to the bottom.

As regards the date of the building, a certain criterion that we have to go upon is the style of the stone and brick carvings, which proclaim it to be of approximately the eleventh century A.D. Carving of a very similar character is to be found in Hindu buildings at many other places in India, but among the multitude of sculptures at Sārnāth itself the evolution and chronological history of sculpture is so clearly and strikingly demonstrated that external evidence is here superfluous. That the monastery is one of the latest Buddhist erections at Sārnāth is certain, and that it had not long been built when destruction overtook it, seems manifest from the unusual freshness of the carvings in both stone and brick. Indeed, the discovery, to the west of the monastery, of a number of unfinished carvings of identically the same pattern as those belonging to the structure, suggests that the superstructure may not have been actually completed when ruin overwhelmed it.

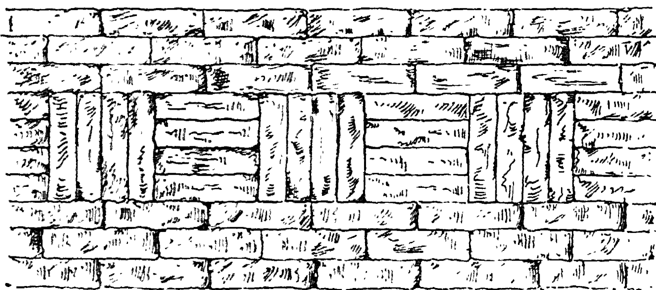


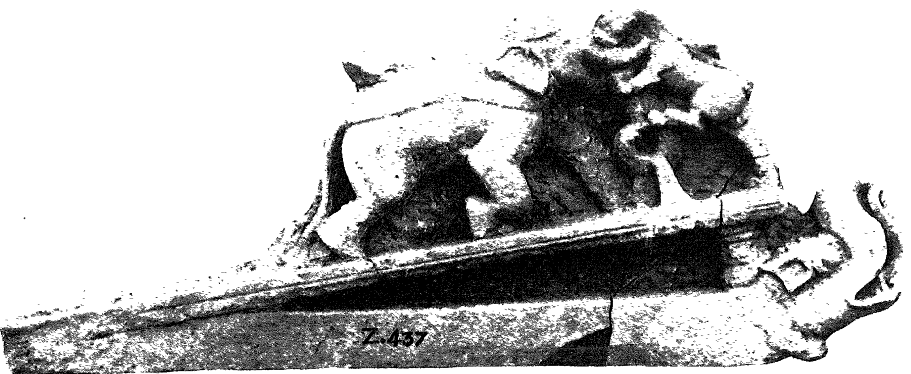
Fig. 8.

Connected with this monastery and built at approximately the same date are several walls marked in red on the plan. Two of these start from the south-east corner, and two more, apparently corresponding to them, from the north-east corner of the building. All four are of the same construction, being faced with chiselled bricks averaging about $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7'' \times 1\frac{3}{4}''$ and with a core of brickbats and rubble. The two walls stretching in an easterly direction average 2′ 1″ thick; the two stretching in a northerly and southerly direction average 2′ 9″ and 2′ 8″ thick, respectively. None of these walls has yet been traced to the end, although the one stretching eastward from the south-east corner has been followed up for 121 feet. Whether they divided off courts and gardens belonging to the monastery or what other purpose they may have served, is not evident, and it would be idle to speculate about it until the walls themselves have been further followed up.

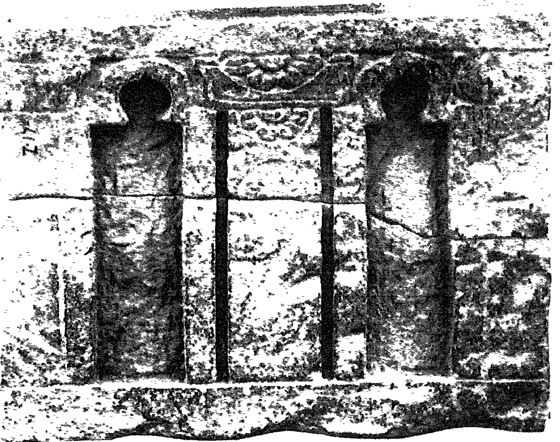
That there was an open court in front of the eastern approach to the monastery, is clear from the existence of a massive sandstone pavement, which first appears in front of the east porch and is found again at a considerable distance further out in a south-eastern direction. Its extent, as far as it has yet been traced, will be found indicated on the plan. Many of the blocks belonging to this pavement appear to have been taken away by former excavators or for the construction of later buildings, and relatively few have so far had to be removed by us in order to carry the digging down to a lower level. It seems, however, practically certain that the whole area intervening between the existing patches of pavement was originally paved over.

Above this pavement no structures of any kind have yet been discovered, and it is probable that none existed, though in view of the disappearance of so much


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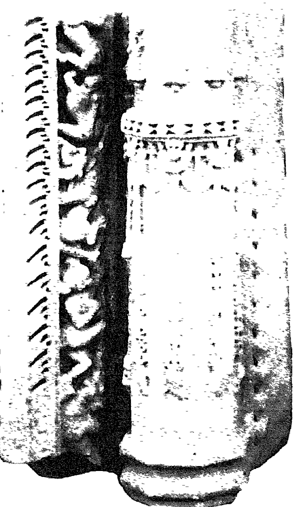


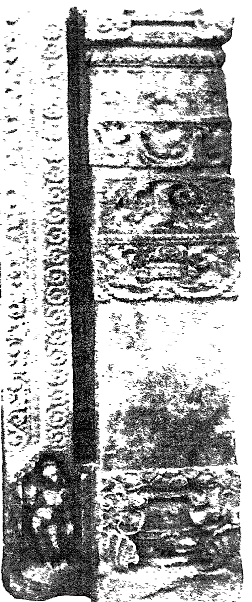
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of the pavement itself the fact that no structures have been found could hardly be taken as evidence that the area covered by the pavement was entirely free of buildings.

Among the multitude of sculptures and terracottas found inside this building or in the courtyard in front may be noticed the following three in particular :—

1. Pilaster (Pl. XXVI, 7) 3′-2″ high, decorated in the style of the later Gupta period, of which the treatment of these designs is peculiarly characteristic. The imitative jewel work, the garland-bearing birds, the *makara*, the flower vase with palmettes at the corners, the rosette border and the little figure in the niche beneath are all *motifs* well worth noticing.

2. Slab (Pl. XXVI, 3) 14½″ high and 15¾″ broad, with two niches sunk in it. The purpose of the slab is uncertain. The carving is unfinished.

3. Fragment of a half octagonal door jamb with a sculptured border (Pl. XXVI, 6). In the border is a line of winged animals and men alternating, the latter attacking the former with daggers. The pilaster of the jamb is decorated with the familiar design of chains and bells, garlands and *kīrtimukha* heads. The carving of the border is particularly vigorous. Height. 5′.

In addition to the above may be noticed also the following sculptures enumerated in the appendix list below: Nos. 2, 4, 26, 36, 44, 47, 56, 69 and 73.

These antiquities belong to a variety of periods from the early Gupta down to the twelfth century A.D., and it is obvious that many of them must have been rescued from earlier buildings belonging to a lower stratum. This is what happened also to the early statues and other carvings found by Mr. Oertel around the *main shrine,* and it is a fact which, unless it is carefully borne in mind, may lead anyone who attempts to date the later buildings at Sārnāth by the help of detached finds or by architectural members built into them into great error.

Earlier Monastery.

A second important structure, partly unearthed, in the "monastery" area, belongs to a much earlier date than the one described above It is indicated in blue on the plan. Its interior is about nine feet, and the floor level outside about eleven feet, below the heavy sandstone pavement previously mentioned, or at a depth of 16′ and 18′, respectively, below the surface of the ground. The laborious digging entailed in removing so much earth has made it impossible to excavate much of the building during the past season, but sufficient has been brought to light to make it practically certain that we have here a second monastery. The long wall running from north to south has been traced for 74 feet 6 inches, but its end has not been reached towards the north. It is of particularly massive construction, with a thickness of 5′ 6″, and is provided with 21 footings, which at the base project 1′ 7″ beyond the curtain of the wall On the east side of this wall six compartments have at present been traced of unequal dimension and with party walls between them of unequal thickness. The bricks used in the monastery vary in size, an average measurement being 13″ × 8½″ × 2¼″; they are chiselled on the outside face of the building, but of the walls so far exposed in the interior only the faces opposite to each other of the first and second party walls from the south are chiselled, and we may take it, therefore, that between these two walls

was an open passage to give access to the corner cell. The inner walls of the cells were left rough and may have been plastered.

The southern end of the main wall we may assume to be the south-west corner of the monastery, as the footings here turn the corner in an easterly direction. At this point there is a mass of brickwork, seemingly of later date, which we may judge to have been built on as a buttress. To the south of this corner of the monastery is the beginning of what appears to be a paved court, the floor of which is laid at a considerably higher level than the original floor level of the monastery and almost certainly belongs to a later period. It appears to have been laid about the same time as the buttress at the south-west corner, and to approximately the same period also we may assign the wall marked *a a*, which will be noticed below.

South, again, of the paved courtyard and in a line with the back wall of the monastery, another substantial brick wall shows itself at a distance of some 26′ south of the south-west corner of the monastery, but it has only yet been traced for eleven feet. From it breaks off in a westerly direction the wall *a a*, which is plainly of later construction. This wall has been followed up for 51 feet up to the point where it disappears beneath the eastern front of the later monastery described above, beyond which it will not be possible to open it out.

As to the date of this earlier monastery, too little has yet been unearthed to allow us to speak with complete certainty, but from the style of its construction coupled with such little cumulative evidence as the smaller finds afford, we may feel fairly safe in ascribing it to the late Gupta period.

Connected with this monastery are several walls unearthed in the deep trenches further south. That marked *e* on the plan is the corner of a wall with chiselled surface and footings similar to the back wall of the monastery, and there seems no doubt that it is of the same date. The walls *d d d*, with the pavement on the south side, and the walls *c c* appear to be contemporary with the later additions to the monastery. The size of the bricks, which are unchiselled, averages about $14\frac{1}{2}'' \times 9'' \times 2\frac{1}{4}''$, but most of them are broken, and all appear to have been used up from some earlier structure. Beneath the east end of the wall *d d* is a small piece of earlier wall (marked *g* on plan) which is perhaps of the same age as the monastery or even earlier.

The number of loose sculptures and other antiquities found on the level of this monastery was very small, and the only objects of any interest that we can definitely assign to the same period, are the three pieces of pottery shown in Plate XXVII, 1, 2, 3. The second and third (diameter $3\frac{1}{2}''$ and $4\frac{1}{2}''$, respectively) are of fine pink clay, not baked through, with a slip of the same colour and a thin wash of darker red paint which has mostly worn off. The first (diam. $4\frac{3}{4}''$) is of coarser clay and without paint. The exterior decoration of Nos. 1 and 2 consists of rosettes, lines and dots stamped upon them in relief. The interior pattern of No. 1 is roughly incised.

Among the medley of other remains to the south of the old monastery there is not much that calls for notice. Various periods intermediary between the earlier and later monasteries are represented, as is obvious from the stratification, and these are marked in a mauve colour in the plan ; but the remains are as yet too scanty to allow us to predicate anything definite as to the characteristic construction of any-

one of these periods. A variety of small detached antiquities were found at different levels, but singularly few of a distinctive character, and in every case it would be dangerous in view of the confused state of the débris to deduce anything from them as to the precise date of a particular stratum.

The best preserved structures in this group are the small *stūpas,* numbered 43, 44, 45 and 46. All are built of brick, carved and chiselled on the exterior face and covered originally with a coating of plaster ⅓″ thick. The interior faces of the walls, *i e.*, around the relic chambers, are of rough unchiselled brick, and the core between is composed of brickbats and rubble. All these *stūpas* are later than the wall *j j*, over which they are built, but earlier than the structures *o o*, *p p*, and *q q*. The wall *o o* is constructed of singularly well-cut face bricks with a rubble core. Of the building *p p* only 4 courses of the superstructure of cut brick remain, below which is a foundation, 2′ 5″ deep, of rough brickwork. The foundations *q q* are about half as deep.

No. 42 on the plan is the corner of what appears to be another *stūpa* of the same character and approximately the same date as the *stūpas* described. All that is left of the walls above it consists of rough foundations; the superstructures above were no doubt of chiselled brick.

Near this *stūpa* and also at the point *m* are several carved blocks of stone taken from some Gupta building, and used apparently for the construction of a channel. They were laid in the position they occupy before the buildings *p p* and *q q* were erected.

The drain built beneath the wall *k k*, at a depth of 6′ 6″ below its foundations, is approximately in the same stratum as the "earlier monastery" structures, but there is little doubt that it belongs to a later epoch, as drains of this kind are naturally set below the level of the buildings to which they belong. The interior of the drain measures 1′ 6″ deep × 1′ 3″ across. It is lined with brick, and was probably covered over, like other drains discovered on this site, with slabs of stone.

As to the sculptures and small antiquities found among the remains described above or further north between the levels of the earlier and later monasteries, very many of them, like those found in the late monastery also, belong to an earlier period. Among them the following only need be noticed:—

(1) Fragmentary slab (Pl. XXVIII, 5). For description see list of sculptures below, No. 52.

(2) Stone pilaster (Pl. XXVIII, 1), 3′ 2″ high. On the base is cut in high relief the figure of a woman holding an uncertain object in her raised right hand, Above her the shaft of the pilaster is adorned with horizontal mouldings and *kīrtimukhas,* spouting forth garlands from their mouths

The pottery found in this stratum, being of a perishable nature, is hardly likely to have belonged to an earlier epoch. Some representative pieces are figured on Plate XXVII. They were all found at a depth of some ten feet from the surface. The clay is coarser than in the case of those illustrated in Plate XXVII, 1, 2 and 3, and the decoration is without interest. The shapes of the modern *kūzas*, *hāṇḍīs*, and *chāṭīs* will be at once recognised among them.

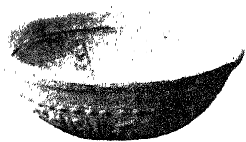
The so-called "Hospital" and other Excavations.

It remains to notice, finally, some trial and other excavations made on the southern side of the site. The first of these was a little to the west of the Dhamēkh *stūpa*. At this point Major Kittoe unearthed, in 1848, a building which on the strength, apparently, of some pestles and mortars found in it he took to be a hospital, and which is described as such by General Cunningham in the first volume of his Survey Reports.[1] Unfortunately, Major Kittoe left practically no reliable record of his work, and all that General Cunningham had to go upon in publishing his results was a very crude plan accompanied by some equally crude notes. Accordingly, it seemed advisable when earth was wanted in connection with repairs to the Dhamēkh *stūpa* close by, to take the opportunity of clearing the site afresh and completing what Major Kittoe had begun. This work was carried out by the Public Works Department under the superintendence of Rai Bahadur B. B. Chakravartti, who has throughout manifested the keenest interest in the work of excavating and preserving the monuments at Sārnāth. Mr. Chakravartti's excavation was confined mainly to the courtyard of the "hospital", and relatively little of the row of chambers surrounding it was laid bare. A minimum of evidence was thus obtainable this year as to the precise character or date of the building, and a detailed description of what has been done may well be postponed until another year, when more of the building will have been exposed and more certain conclusions arrived at. In the meantime, however, it may be noticed that the excavations have revealed the existence of an earlier structure under the one unearthed by Major Kittoe, and that, so far as can be judged at present, the upper building appears to belong approximately to the eighth century of our era, the lower to the early Gupta epoch. It may be added, also, that several pieces of sculpture of the Gupta epoch have been recovered, besides an interesting fragment of a metal diadem inlaid with gems.

Another excavation in this part of the site was made for trial purposes only, in order to ascertain whether anything of value existed in the mound to the west of the Jain Temple, on which the Museum stands, and whether the museum building, which is much too small for its requirements, could safely be extended. With this end in view, a pit was sunk near the north-west corner of the museum and trenches carried from it towards the east and south. In both directions a well-laid brick pavement was brought to light at a depth of 8′ from the surface, as well as a circular structure—probably a *stūpa* - and other remains. With the existence of these established, further digging was unnecessary. A new and larger museum will now be built on the low ground to the south, outside the limits of the old *saṅghārāma;* and when this has been done the present building can be demolished, and the excavation of the site where it stands, continued.

A third spot that claimed our attention, was on the south side of the Jagat Singh *stūpa*, where there existed a mound of considerable dimensions rising some 15 feet above the surrounding level. A very little digging sufficed to prove that this mound was composed of little but spoil earth thrown up by earlier excavators, probably by the workmen of Jagat Singh himself; but it was also manifest that the ground at

[1] Page 124.


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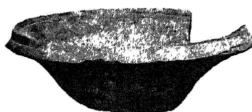
FROM LOWER MONASTERY.


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POTTERY SPECIMENS.

its base had never been disturbed, and it was decided therefore to clear away the whole of the spoil earth, preparatory to exploring the surroundings of the *stūpa*. This was effected down to the level of the small *stūpas* excavated by Mr. Oertel on the west of the Jagat Singh *stūpa*. At this level, we came upon a round *stūpa* with a niche for an image, facing towards the great brick *stūpa*, and round about it several sculptures of value, among which may be noticed especially a fine standing Buddha in the *abhayamudrā*, belonging to the Gupta period (List No. 16, and Pl. XXIX, *a*) part of a seated Buddha with an inscription of the fifth century A.D. (see Fig. 9 and Inscriptions, No. VIII), and a primitive-looking relief in red sandstone (List, No. 70).

In conclusion, there remains something to be said about the remarkable stone railing in the chapel on the south side of the main shrine. This railing was discovered by Mr. Oertel during the operations of 1904-5, and is referred to by him on p. 68 of the "Annual" for that year. Mr. Oertel, however, only had time to excavate its east face, and it was left to us this year to clear the interior of the rail and, as far as possible, the other three faces. One inscription had been found by Mr. Oertel cut on the east plinth, and a second one was brought to light this year on the south side. This is described as No. IV in the List of Inscriptions appended below. The railing consists of 16 uprights, 5 along each side, with a massive plinth below, a bevelled coping above and three lozenge-shaped horizontal bars between. In the corners are quarter-circle brackets pierced with stanchion holes, intended, perhaps, to receive supports for an overhead canopy or for flags. Apart from this feature, the railing is of a familiar enough type; but what invests it with a special interest is the fact that the whole was hewn from one single block of stone and chiselled with that extraordinary precision and accuracy which characterises all Mauryan work and which has never, we venture to say, been surpassed even by the finest workmanship on Athenian buildings. The railing is in fact a remarkable "tour de force", and was undoubtedly erected, in the first instance, on some especially hallowed spot. Whether this spot is the one on which it now stands, cannot be definitely affirmed. The railing is unfortunately badly fractured, and must have been so from an early age, as there are large breakages on the north and west sides, which had been made good with brick-work long before the main shrine, as it now stands, was built. It is quite possible, therefore, that the railing originally stood elsewhere and was transferred to this spot in sections, after it had been broken, perhaps at the time that the later inscription was engraved upon it. Some colour is given to this supposition by the fact that the *stūpas* inside it are not set in the middle of the railing but are pushed somewhat to one side.

Of these *stūpas* the earlier one rises from the same level as the railing itself, and is still standing to a height of 4′; so much as remains of it is square in plan, with a plinth of two steps at the bottom, and a projecting moulding at the top, but at one time, no doubt, it was surmounted by the usual curved dome. The *stūpa* appears to have been the original memorial at this spot, around which the railing was set up. At a later date, when this *stūpa* and the railing were buried in débris, another memorial was erected above it. This happened, perhaps, about the time that the main shrine was erected. The later structure, which is figured in Plate XIX of

Mr. Oertel's article, is somewhat larger than the earlier one and of a different form. Above the plinth, which measures 4′ 8″ across, was a round drum surmounted by a dome, with a projecting moulding intervening between the dome and drum. In the centre of the structure was a circular stone shaft broken off a few inches above the top of the dome, which no doubt once supported an umbrella. Both *stūpas* were examined for relics, but nothing was found in either of them, and the sections removed were afterwards replaced brick by brick.

LIST OF SCULPTURES.

The following list contains only representative sculptures of the different kinds discovered during the season. In addition to these there were some 170 other small sculptures, besides several hundred architectural members, etc.

I.—IMAGES.

Buddha Images.

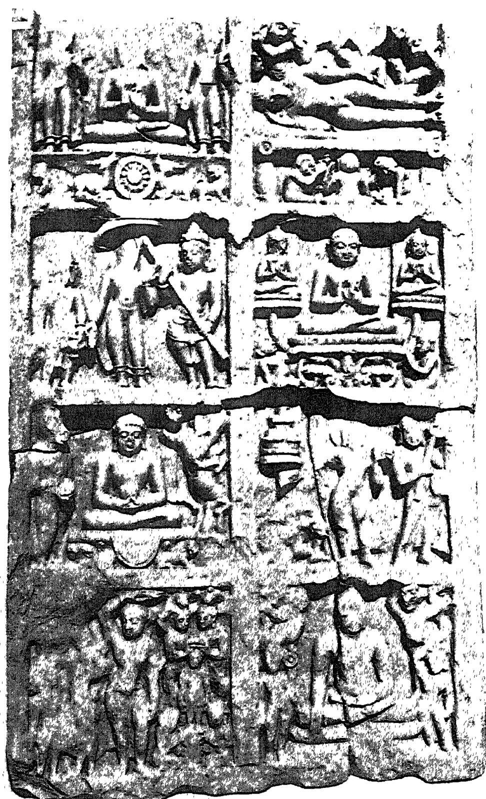
1. Buddha in *dharmachakramudrā*; upper part only. He is seated on a throne, the back of which is visible. At side of throne, winged leogryphs. To the proper right, below, a Bōdhisattva. Height 1′ (Pl. XIX. 7).
2. Buddha in *dharmachakramudrā*, seated in European fashion; one Bōdhisattva on each side, probably Avalōkitēśvara to the proper left and Maitrēya to the proper right, both standing on raised pedestals. Below left hand Bōdhisattva a figure is visible, probably a worshipper. Traces of similar worshipper on opposite side. On both sides of Buddha's head, celestial beings carrying garlands. Height 1′3¼″.
3. Buddha in *dharmachakramudrā*, sitting in European fashion, on a throne; feet apparently resting on lotus. Wheel and deer symbol below. Some indistinct figures visible underneath. Two celestial beings carrying garlands above. Halo round head. Height 3′ 5″. (Pl. XX, 3).
4. Buddha in *dharmachakramudrā*, seated in European fashion, with feet resting on lotus. Below, three worshippers on each side. To his proper left a figure, probably Avalōkitēśvara, with lotus-stalk in left and fly-whisk (?) in right hand. To his proper right, another figure, probably Maitrēya, whose attributes have disappeared. The heads of the Buddha and of this latter attendant are missing. Height 11½″.
5. Buddha in *dharmachakramudrā*, seated cross-legged on lotus. Below, wheel and deer, and five worshippers [the *pañchavaggiyas*). Inscribed with creed in characters of the eleventh century. Head missing. Throne and halo, finely carved. Height 2′ 4″ (Pl. XX, 6).
6. Buddha in *dharmachakramudrā*, seated cross-legged on lotus; throne indicated behind; traces of halo. Sandstone, with red paint. Height 1′ 9″.
7. Buddha in *dharmachakramudrā*, seated cross-legged on lotus; head missing. Five worshippers below. Height 1′ ¾″.
8. Defaced Buddha in *dharmachakramudrā*, seated cross-legged on lotus. Lower part defaced. Height 1′ 1″.
9. Buddha in *dharmachakramudrā*, seated in a chapel. To the left Makara head, with human being above. Height 10¼″. (Pl. XXIII, 8.)
10. Buddha in *dharmachakramudrā*, seated cross-legged on lotus. Below, lotus decoration and one small replica of the main figure on each side. Head missing. At base, Gupta inscription (No. VI) of fourth or fifth century, ascribing the statue to Dhanadēva. Height 1′. (Pl. XXIII, 6).

EXCAVATIONS AT SARNATH.


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11. Buddha in *dharmachakramudrā*, seated on a throne ; with halo. Below, wheel and deer. On base, creed in characters of ninth century. Height 16¾″. (Pl. XXIII, 9.)
12. Fragment of seated Buddha, probably in *dharmachakramudrā*. Below, wheel, deer, and nine worshippers. To proper left, traces of standing figure. Height 9″. (Pl. XXIII, 5).
13. Fragment of seated Buddha. Only legs left. Below, wheel and deer and five worshippers. Height 5″.
14. Fragmentary bust of Buddha in *dharmachakramudrā*. Height 9″.
15. Fragment of Buddha in *dharmachakramudrā*. Traces of halo. Being with garland above to proper right. Height 11½″.
16. Standing Buddha in *abhayamudrā*, with finely executed halo. Left hand, feet and part of halo missing. Height 4′ 7½″. (Pl. XXIX, *a*.)
17. Standing Buddha in *abhayamudrā*. Feet and left hand missing. Halo with scalloped border, as in Mathurā sculptures. Height 3′ 6″. (Pl. XXVIII, 2.)
18. Fragment of Buddha in *abhayamudrā*. To his proper left, traces of god holding umbrella (Indra). To his proper right, traces of other god (Brahmā). Head and feet missing. Height 6¼″.
19. Lower part of Buddha in *bhūmisparśamudrā*. On pedestal below, lion's head amid conventional rocks. On proper right, kneeling female with bowl. On proper left, male and female fleeing. Inscription (No. VIII) of fifth century, ascribing the gift to Kumāragupta. (Fig. 9.)

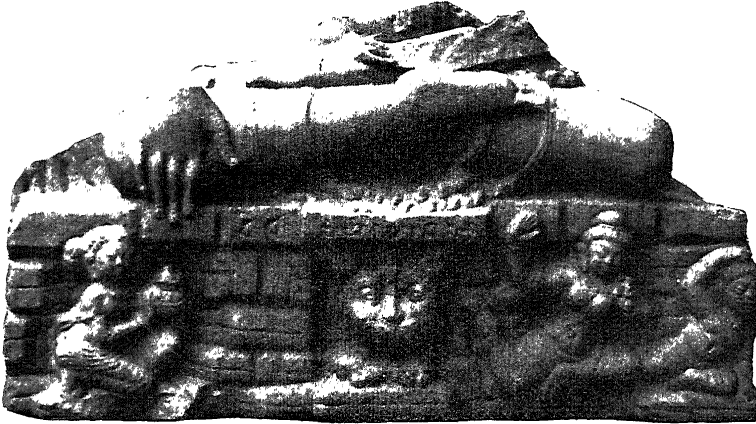


Fig 9.

20. Buddha seated cross-legged in *bhūmisparśamudrā*. Lower part defaced. Above, foliage of Bōdhi-tree and two celestial beings, perhaps showering flowers. Height 1′ 5½″.
21. Fragment of Buddha seated in *bhūmisparśamudrā*, with halo. Lower portion defaced. Height 1′ 4½″.
22. Fragment of Buddha seated in *dhyānamudrā*. Below, man kneeling, and demon with animal-head in front. Height 9″.
23. Buddha standing in *varadamudrā*. Left hand raised towards shoulder. Feet and right hand missing. Height 10¼″.
24. Similar statue. Much defaced. Height 1′ 1″.
25. Defaced seated Buddha. Height 7½″.
26. Fragment of standing Buddha. Left hand holds garment against shoulder. Legs from knee and right arm missing. Height 10″.

27-31. Buddha heads.

Bōdhisattvas, God, and Goddesses.

32. Avalōkitēśvara seated in *lalitāsana* on lotus. Right hand in *varadamudrā*, left hand holds rose. Above, five Dhyānibuddhas; in the centre, Amitābha in *dhyānamudrā*. To his right, Tārā, left hand holding blue lotus, right hand in explaining attitude ; below her, Sudhanakumāra, his hand folded in supplicating attitude (*kritāñjaliputa*), holding a book in his left armpit ; to Avalōkitēśvara's left, above, Bhṛikuṭī(?), sitting with left knee

drawn up, right hand raised against the Bōdhisattva, left hand holding object (*kamandalu* ?). Below her, Hayagrīva (?), right hand raised towards the Bōdhisattva, left hand holding stick. On the base, under Avalōkitēśvara's right hand, Sūchimukha, his pointed face turned upwards. On the opposite corner two worshippers, male and female. Height 1′ 2″. (Pl. XIX, 8.)

33. Mañjuśrī, seated on a lion; blue lotus to his right, and stalk of similar lotus to his left. The Dhyānibuddha Akshōbhya in *bhūmisparśamudrā* in his headdress. One worshipper on each side. Height 15½″. (Pl. XXIII, 10.)

34. Upper part of Maitrēya(?) Only Dhyānibuddha in *abhayamudrā*, part of halo, and full blown lotus on proper right. Height 8¾″.

35. Seated figure in *bhūmisparśamudrā*, sitting cross-legged on lotus. Necklace; traces of halo. Probably a Bōdhisattva. Height 10¾″.

36. Image with necklace, armlets, girdle and other ornaments. Head, arms and feet missing. To his proper right figure holding object. Height 1′ 11½″. (Pl. XXIX, *c*.)

37. Lower part of image, seated cross-legged on lotus, holding thunderbolt in left hand. Below, sitting worshipper. On base, creed in characters of eleventh or twelfth century. Perhaps Vajrasattva ? Height 8¼″.

38. Four-armed figure, seated cross-legged on lotus. Two hands joined over breast. High head-dress. Probably a Bōdhisattva (Avalōkitēśvara ?). Below, traces of inscription. Height 5½″. (Pl. XXIII, 2.)

39. Attendant standing on lotus and holding lotus-stalk. Right hand raised over head. Main figure missing. Sandstone. Height 10.″

40. God dancing on prostrate figure lying full length on lotus. Left arm holds mace. Right arm uplifted, probably holding bowl. Snake (?) hanging down round body. (Pl. XXIII, 11.)

41. Lower part of image seated in *līlāsana* on lotus. Two kneeling worshippers below. Perhaps Avalōkitēśvara. On base, inscription of tenth or eleventh century. Height 6¾″.

42. Fragment of Bōdhisattva or goddess seated in *līlāsana*; right hand in *varadamudrā*. Worshipper kneeling below to proper left. Height 6½″.

43. Fragment of similar statue, in blue stone. Below, one female attendant, kneeling. To proper left, at feet of image, female attendant with flower in left hand; the right held up before breast. Below, inscription in characters of tenth or eleventh century. Probably Avalōkitēśvara. Height 7″.

44. Standing Deity; four arms; halo; ornaments. Below, to the proper right, headless bull. Attributes and hands lost. Perhaps Śiva. Height 3′ 4½″. (Pl. XXIX, *d*.)

45. Fragment of broken goddess; lower part missing. Apparently four arms, upper left holding flame (?), other arms broken. To her proper left, two roses; halo. Perhaps Tārā. Height 10¼″.

46. Female figure in seated posture. Right foot swung over left thigh; long hair falling down almost to ground; ornaments. Lotus-stalk rising at her back. Head and arms missing. Height 2′ 7½″.

47. Similar figure. No traces of hair or lotus; a band seems to go round the waist and the right calf. Height 2′ 2¼″.

48. Lower part of image; probably goddess, standing on lotus, with lotus-stalks on both sides. One attendant on each side. Height 11″.

49. Head and bust of three-headed goddess, with three eyes (the central one conventional) in central head. Amitābha in head-dress. Probably Ushṇīshavijayā. Height 6¾″.

II.—SCENES.

50. Sculptured slab containing illustrations of the eight big scenes. (Pl. XXVIII, 4.) Two parts of the slab were unearthed during the season under review, a third piece was found amongst the stones excavated by Kittoe.

EXCAVATIONS AT SARNATH.



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)

The four principal scenes, connected with Kapilavastu, Gayā, Benares, and Kuśanagara, respectively, are found in the four corners; the four secondary scenes, supposed to have taken place at Sāṅkāśya, Vaiśālī, Rājagṛiha, and Śrāvasti, respectively, in two rows between.

In the lower left-hand corner, we have Buddha's birth in Kapilavastu. In the centre, Māyā raising her right arm. To her right, traces of Indra and Brahmā receiving the child. To her left, the washing of the child by two Nāgas (Nanda and Upananda). Two attendants below.

In the lower right-hand corner, the Bōdhi, at Gayā. In the centre, the Buddha, seated cross-legged on lotus throne in *bhūmisparśamudrā*. To his right, Māra; to his left Māra's daughter. Above, two demons. To Māra's left, a rose (cf. *kusumāyudha* ?)

In upper left hand corner, the first sermon in the Deerpark near Benares. In centre, the Buddha seated cross-legged in *dharmachakramudrā*; Buddhas in *varadamudrā* stand on both sides. Below, wheel, deer, and, in the right corner, a lion; a corresponding lion in the left corner, now indistinguishable.

In upper right hand corner, Buddha's death in Kuśanagara. He is lying on his right side on a couch. Three mourning figures above and three below.

Under the first sermon, the descent from the Trāyastriṁśa heaven at Sāṅkāśya. In centre, the Buddha in *varadamudrā*; to his proper left, Indra with umbrella; to his proper right Brahmā with water gourd (*kamaṇḍalu*).

Below last, the presentation of *madhu* by the monkey at Vaiśālī. To the left, the monkey standing with a bowl, which he offers to the Buddha, who is sitting cross-legged on lion throne; the bowl is repeated in the Buddha's hands. To the right, are seen the feet and tail of the monkey, who disappears in a well, and, above, a figure holding object in his left and saluting the Buddha with his right, perhaps the monkey reborn.

To the right of preceding scene, the taming of the elephant at Rājagṛiha. In centre, standing Buddha. To his right, the elephant Nalagiri, kneeling, surmounted by a *stūpa*. To Buddha's left, standing figure, perhaps Dēvadatta.

Above the preceding scene, and immediately below the parinirvāṇa scene, the great miracle at Śrāvastī. The Buddha seated crosslegged on lotus in *dharmachakramudrā*; on both sides, replicas of the main figure; below, two worshippers. As pointed out by M. Foucher, a fourth preaching Buddha must probably be supposed to sit behind the main figure (*cf.* Divyāvadāna, p. 161, *chaturdiśaṁ chaturvidhaṁ ṛiddhiprātihāryaṁ vidarśya*). Height 3′ 1″.

51. Defaced slab divided into three horizontal bands, probably illustrating the four principal scenes.

In lower band traces of standing Māyā.

Above, to the right, the first sermon. The Buddha seated in *dharmachakramudrā*. Below, wheel and worshipper. Above, on each side, a Buddha with *stūpa*, standing on lotus.

To the left, traces remain of the Bōdhi scene, but too defaced to be made out. Traces of halo and celestial beings on both sides.

In upper band, Parinirvāṇa scene, with nine mourning figures in front of the couch. The central one, who turns his face towards the Buddha, has been identified with Subhadra. One person is standing at Buddha's feet (Mahākāśyapa), and another at his head. Traces of five mourning figures above. Height 3′-3½″.

52. Fragmentary slab (Pl. XXVIII, 5). In lower portion, Māyā's dream. Māyā lying on her right side (as usual in the older sculptures in Bharhut and Sāñchī). At her feet, attendant squatting. Behind, three female attendants, one with fan or flag, two with chāmaras. Above, elephant, on proper right of which two attendants.

To the right of slab, birth scene, the child being received by Indra. To Māyā's proper left, a female figure (Prajāpati).

Between these two scenes the first bath by the two Nāgas, the child standing on lotus. To his proper right, two worshippers.

In panel above, to the left, the Bōdhisattva sitting on his horse. Below the horse, a kneeling attendant. To the right of horse, the Bōdhisattva divesting himself (?) ; below seated figure with bowl.

Further to the right, the Bōdhisattva, sitting cross-legged, on a lotus in *dhyānamudrā*. Height 2′ 5″.

53. Fragment of slab. Below, to the right, three demons, belonging to Bōdhi scene.

Above, a lion supporting throne, and perhaps a deer. Between the two, a seated figure. To the right of throne, Avalōkitēśvara standing on a lotus,—the first sermon. Height 2′ 2″.

54. Slab with nine Buddhas, all with halos. In the centre below, Buddha in *dharma-chakramudrā*, sitting cross-legged on lotus. On each side standing Buddhas. Above, in the centre, Buddha sitting cross-legged on lotus in *dhyānamudrā*. On each side a Buddha seated cross-legged in *dhyānamudrā*.

In top range, in centre, Buddha, sitting cross-legged on lotus in *dhyānamudrā*. On each side, standing Buddhas.

In both upper corners, celestial beings.

At the base, in the centre, two Nāgas, holding the lotus stalk, and on each side two sitting and one standing person (lōkapālas and yakshas ?) Height 3′ 2½″ (Pl. XX, 4.)

55. Similar slab ; top broken. Height 2′ 8″.

III. Decorative and Miscellaneous Sculptures.

56. Architectural fragment representing double roof with row of pillars between. Above upper roof, the Buddha in *bhūmisparsámudrā*. To his right, Māra and demon ; above, celestial being. Below lower roof, bands of geometrical and floral patterns. Height 2′ 1″.

57. Fragment divided into panels, in one of which small figure of Atlant. Height 9½″.

58. Votive Stūpa with the Buddha in *dhyānamūdrā*. (Pl. XIX, 9).

59. Votive Stūpa with goddess in niche. Below, illegible inscription. Height 11″.

60. Panel with leogryph and rider. Typical Gupta work : wig, thick lips, long nose, high cheeks. Height 2′ 5½″.

61. Opposite panel. Only part of leogryph left. Height 1′ 7″.

62. Fragment of man with sword ; from same decoration. Height 1′ 6″.

63. Akroterion ornament (?) and Makara gargoyle, unfinished work. The elephant and lion fighting are very vigorous. Height 1′ 7½″. (Pl. XXVI, 2).

64. Decorative slab, illustrating Makara, with trunk, fins and fish tail, holding garland in trunk. Height 1′ 2″.

65. Hand holding hilt or vajra ; with rings. Height 5″.

66. Fragment of lion's head in medallion ; good Gupta work. Height 9″.

67. A woman's head with grinning mouth and long floating hair. Height 5¼″.

68. Fragment of male figure with beard, holding object over shoulder. Height 3½″.

69. Small image of standing deity, with garland. Sandstone. Height 6¼″.

70. Fragment of male figure standing on lotus. Head missing. Height 2¾″.

71. Singularly beautiful fragment of sitting woman, head leaning on hands, which rest on knees. Hair floating down back ; dhoti and anklets. Behind back, blue lotus. Perhaps Mauryan. Height 8½″.

72. Bust and head of grotesque figure in terra-cotta, with protruding eyes. It apparently did duty as a bracket. Height 7″. (Pl. XXVI, 1.)

73. Head of male figure, with earrings, necklace, etc. Traces of red paint. Typical Gupta work. Height 9½″.

74. Fragment of standing figure holding chāmara. Traces of red paint. Height 9″.

INSCRIPTIONS.

The number of inscriptions found during the season's excavations is not great, only about 25, and several of them are simply repetitions of the creed, or dedicatory inscriptions with relatively little archæological value. The various dates of the epigraphs extend from the second century B. C. to the 11th or 12th century A. D.

I.

The oldest record found this year is incised on a rail stone. It is written in Brāhmī characters of the second century B. C., the legend being as follows (see Plate XXX, No. 1),—

bhikhunikāyē Saṁvahikāyē dānaṁ ala[ṁ]banaṁ.*

This base stone is the gift of the nun Saṁvahikā.

It will be seen from the designation *ālaṁbana* that this stone was originally the lower horizontal stone of a rail.

II.

To about the same date must be ascribed the inscription on another railstone:

[Bha]riniyē sahaṁ Jatēyikā[yē ...] (the gift) of Jatēyikā together with Bharinī. The reading and translation, however, are not quite certain. Jatēyikā occurs in the form *Jaṁtēyikā* on an inscription unearthed by Mr. F. O. Oertel, which I would read *Sīhāyē sahi Jaṁtēyikāyē tha[ṁ]bhō,* "the railstone of Jaṁtēyikā and Sīhā". Bharinī, it may be noticed, brings to mind the name Bhārinidēva on the Bharhut Stūpa[1].

This railstone appears to have been moved later on from its original position and put up as a lamp post. Compare below Inscription No. V.

III.

The next inscription brings us down to the Kushaṇa period. It was found incised on a fragment of an old stone umbrella which turned up at the base of one of the small *stūpas* to the west of the Main Shrine, and it belongs to the third or perhaps the second century A. D. It contains four lines, and the fact that the inscription is complete, seems to indicate that the stone was already broken when the inscription was cut, as it is very unlikely that it would have been arranged in such a way if the stone umbrella had still been entire. The contents of the inscription are:—

I 1 *Chattār-imāni bhikkhavē ar[i*]ya-sachchāni*
I 2 *katamāni [cha]ttāri? dukkha[ṁ] di [bhi]kkhavē arā(ri)yasachchaṁ*
I 3 *dukkhasamuday[ō] ariyaya(sa)chchaṁ dukkhanirōdhō ariyasachchaṁ*
I 4 *dukkhanirōdhagāminī [cha] paṭipadā ari[ya*]saçhchaṁ.*

[1] Cunningham. *The Stūpa of Bharhut,* p. 142, and Plate XXXI. 4.

Four are, ye monks, the Noble Axioms. And which are these four? The Noble Axiom about suffering, ye monks; the Noble Axiom about the origin of suffering; the Noble Axiom about cessation of suffering, and the Noble Axiom about the way leading to the cessation of suffering.

It will be seen that the inscription contains a resumé of the principal teaching of the Buddha (*Buddhānaṁ sāmukkaṁsikā dhammadēsanā,* Mahavagga 1, 7, 6, &c), which according to old traditions formed the text of the Benares Sermon. It is peculiarly appropriate, therefore, that such an inscription should have been found in Sārnāth.

A special interest attaches itself to the fact that the inscription has been written in Pāli, the church language of Southern Buddhism. No other old Pāli inscription has been found in North India, and our inscription accordingly affords a unique and valuable proof that the Pāli Canon existed and was known in Benares in late Kushaṇa time[1].

IV.

On the upper side of the lower horizontal stone of the railing surrounding the old Stūpa in the south chapel of the Main Shrine, an inscription was found similar to that described by Dr. Vogel in the Annual for 1904-1905, p. 68. It runs as follows:—

(a) *āchāryyaṇaṁ sarvvāstivā-*

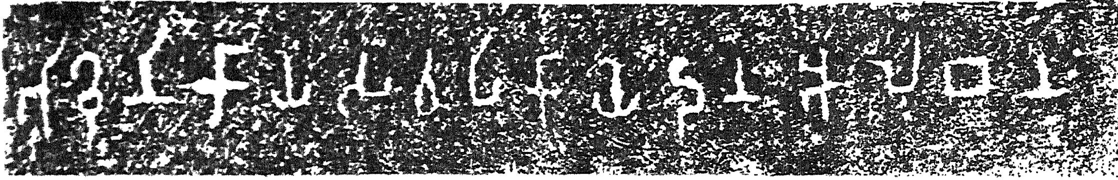
(b) *dinaṁ parigrāhē*

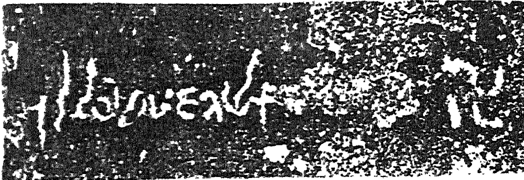
Homage of the teachers of the Sarvāstivādin sect.

The inscription is divided into two parts, one on each side of the central bar of the south side of the railing. The other inscription, discovered by Mr. F. O. Oertel, is found on the front of the lower stone on the east side. The beginning of this latter one *āchā[ryyā[1]]naṁ sarvvāstivādinaṁ,* is practically identical with the beginning of our inscription. Both are written in Sanskrit, and both may roughly be assigned to the fourth or perhaps to the end of the third century A. D. The end of the inscription discovered by Mr. Oertel is, however, quite different. It is written in a form of Prakrit, and in an older alphabet, which may be roughly assigned to the first or second century B.C. Now, the stone shows distinct signs of an erasure before the Prakrit portion, and the inference seems unavoidable that the Sarvāstivādins have substituted their own name for that of another sect, which they had previously struck out. The result was not quite satisfactory, and so they proceeded to add the newly discovered epigraph in a second place. A double conclusion apparently follows from these facts. In the first place, the anxiety evinced by the Sarvāstivādins to be considered as the donors of the railing points to the spot where it stands having been a particularly sacred one—a conclusion which has already been drawn from other reasons. In the second place, the facts show that the Sarvāstivādins must at that period have been trying to assert themselves as a predominant sect at Sārnāth. That they should have scratched out the name of some other sect and written their own instead certainly indicates that their predominance cannot have been of long standing. Now, Hiuen Thsang in the seventh century found the Sammitiyas playing the leading

[1] Compare *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. IX, pp. 291 & f.

EXCAVATIONS AT SARNATH.


I.


II.

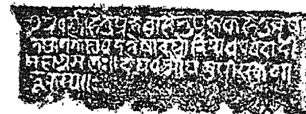

VI.

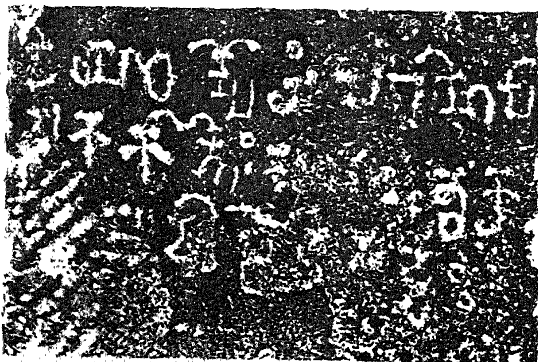

VII.

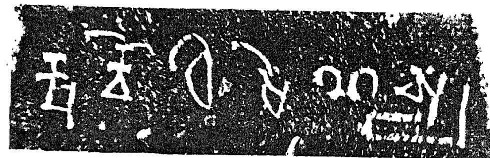

III.


VIII.

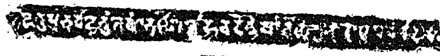

IV.


XII.


V.


IX.


X.


XI.

part in Sārnāth. And from an inscription on the Aśōka pillar of that period, which has been published by Dr. Vogel,[1] we know that their connexion with the Mṛigadāva monastery must go back to about the fourth century.

It seems, therefore, that the Sarvāstivādins and the Sammatiyas were both settled in Sārnāth about the year 300, but that the latter sect later on succeeded in asserting itself as the leading one in the monastery.

V.

It has already been remarked under the head of inscription II that the old rail stone referred to was in later time removed from its original position and put up as a lamp-post. This appears from an inscription in characters of the fourth or fifth century A. D., which runs:

l 1 *dēyadharmmō=yaṁ paramōpā-*

l 2 *[sa]ka - Kīrttēḥ [mūla-ga] ndhaku-*

l 3 *[tyāṁ] [pra]dī[p . . . . . .ddhaḥ]*

This is the pious gift of the devoted worshipper Kīrtti, a lamp put up in the Mūlagandhakuṭī.

Parts of this inscription are all but illegible. There cannot, however, be much doubt that the above reading is, in the main, correct. Several lamp-posts of a similar kind have been found in Sārnāth; *cf.* below, Inscription XII, and the inscription published in the Report of Mr. F. O. Oertel's excavations (1904-1905, p. 66) where Dr. Vogel is of opinion that the missing portion should be read *gandhakuṭyāṁ*.

The key to this restitution has been furnished by a number of seals found to the west of the *main shrine*. A similar seal had already been found by Cunningham (*Reports*, I. p. 129, and Plate XXXIV. *b*), who was not however, able to read the legend. The seals contain the usual wheel and deer symbol, and the inscription reads :—

l. 1 *śrī-saddharmmachakkrē mū-*

l. 2 *la-gandhakuṭyāṁ bhaga-*

l. 3 *vata[ḥ]*

In the *mūlagandhakuṭī* of the Exalted one in the illustrious Saddharmachakra.

In this legend Saddharmachakra is the name of the whole monastery, which had received this name because it was situated on the spot where the Buddha first turned the wheel (*chakra*) of the good law (*saddharma*). We shall see later on that this name was retained down to the 11th century. The character of the inscriptions of the seals carries the denomination back to the 6th or 7th century, and there is no reason for doubting that it is much older. These seals thus furnish us with the name of the old Sārnāth monastery.

They further mention a locality within the monastery which was known as the *Mūlagandhakuṭī* of the Lord. The denomination *Mūlagandhakuṭī*, i.e., principal or original *gandhakuṭī*, and the fact that seals were struck with a legend denoting them as hailing from this place, where, as the finding of a lamp-post shows, sacred lamps were kept burning, seems to show that this place must have been considered as especially sacred. It is much to be deplored that we do not know for certain what a *gandhakuṭī*

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 172.

is, and still less what the *Mūlagandhakuṭī* may have been. The literal meaning of *gandhakuṭī* is "hall of fragrance," and it is stated that any private chamber devoted to the Buddha's use was called so, but especially the room he always occupied in Sāvatthi[1] The word often occurs in later Pāli literature, but apparently not in canonical texts. The oldest source for our knowledge of the meaning of the word is therefore the representation of the *gandhakuṭī* in the Jētavana in the sculptures of the Bharhut Stūpa.[2]

It is there depicted as a kind of shrine, and it does not differ essentially from another building, which is there denoted as a *kōsa[ṁ]bakuṭī*. This *kōsambakuṭī* is known from another source, for there it was that the friar Bala dedicated the Bōdhisattva statue described by Cunningham[3] and Bloch.[4]

It was a shrine or temple, and there is every probability that the same is the case with the *gandhakuṭī*. Cunningham[5] tried to trace the locality of the *gandhakuṭī* of the Jētavana in a small temple excavated by him in 1876. The original *gandhakuṭī*, which tradition traces back to Anāthapiṇḍika, he maintains must have been a wooden structure. He further urges that the *gandhakuṭī* was the place where the famous sandalwood image of the Buddha was placed, and remarks,—"In the view of the *gandhakuṭī*, taken from the Bharhut sculpture, it will be observed that the seat, or throne, of Buddha is empty. This is in strict accordance with all the sculptures of Bharhut, in none of which is Buddha himself ever represented. His head-dress and his foot-prints are frequently seen, as well as the *dharmachakra* symbol, but in no single instance is he represented in person. It seems probable, therefore, that the story of the sandalwood statue must be of later date than the Bharhut Stūpa, that is, subsequent to the time of Aśōka. *Gandhakuṭī* means "Hall of perfume," and the name was applied to the house in which every Buddha had lived; because perfumes were burned there in honour of the departed Teacher. According to Burnouf, the *gandhakuṭī* was "la salle ou l'on brûle des parfums en l'honneur d'un Buddha, et devant son image."

It seems probable that *gandhakuṭī* means a chapel, dedicated to the memory of the Buddha, whether it contains an image or not, and it was only in later times that these chapels were supposed to have been the personal apartments of the Buddha when he was living on earth.[6] The *Mūlagandhakuṭī* must, then, be the principal *gandhakuṭī*, perhaps the place where the colossal statue seen by Hiuen Thsang was put up. It is of course as yet impossible to locate it with certainty. The fact, however, that the big lamp-posts with inscriptions assigning them to the *mūlagandhakuṭī* have been found to the east of the Main Shrine, while the other inscriptions mentioning the place are found on small seals, which could easily be carried away, makes it probable that the principal *gandhakuṭī* must indeed be looked for amongst the remains excavated in that quarter.

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1 Childers, *Dictionary of the Pali Language, sub voce;* H. C. Norman, *Journal of As. Soc. of Bengal*, Vol. IV, 1908, pp. 1 & ff.

2 Cunningham. *The Stupa of Bharhut.* London, 1879, p. 87, and Plate LVII.

3 *Reports*, I, p. 339; V, p. VII; XI, p. 68.

4 *J. A. S. Bengal*, Vol. LXVII, P. I, 1898, pp. 274 ff; *Ep. Ind.* VIII, p. 179.

5 *Reports*, XI, p. 84.

6 Itsing mentions various rules to be observed when approaching a *gandhakuṭi*; see Takakus's Translation, pp. 22, 123, 155. A *mūlagandhakuṭi* at Nālanda is mentioned, *ibidem*, p. XXXII.

The designation "*principal gandhakuṭī*" seems to show that there were also other *gandhakuṭīs* in Sārnāth. Some probability is given to this conclusion by the fact that a new *gandhakuṭī* has been mentioned in the Mahīpāla inscription of Saṁvat 1083. In dealing with this inscription Dr. Vogel[1] translates the passage *tau Dharmmarājikāṁ sāṅgaṁ Dharmmachakraṁ punar-navaṁ kṛitavantau cha navīnām=ashṭamahāsthāna-śailagandhakuṭīm* as follows: "they restored Aśōka's stūpa and [the shrine of] the wheel of the Law completely, and built this new temple of stone from the eight holy places."

The finds of the last season throw new light on this inscription. In the first place, we have already seen that *Dharmmachakra* is the name of the whole site and not of a temple within it. Then the sculpture described above (No. 50) illustrating eight scenes of the Buddha's life connected with the eight chief places, apparently explains the expression *ashṭamahāsthānaśailagandhakuṭī*, which should be translated "a stone *gandhakuṭī* (temple) of the eight great places," *i.e.*, containing a slab illustrating the scenes that took place on the eight principal places.

With regard to the form Dharmarājikā occurring in the Mahīpāla inscription, no new facts have come to light, and Dr. Vogel's translation as "Aśōka Stūpa" has not been disproved. The name *Dhamēkh* cannot, however, have anything to do with the word Dharmarājikā, because the final sound is distinctly aspirated. Dhamēkh therefore regularly corresponds to an older *dharmēkshā*, as supposed by Professor Venis.[2]

VI.

On a headless image of the sitting Buddha (Sculpture No. 10), 4th or 5th century A. D.

dēyadharmmō=yaṁ Śākya-bhikshō[r] Dhanadēvasya.* The pious gift of the Śākya Friar Dhanadēva.

VII.

The same Dhanadēva is apparently mentioned in an effaced inscription on the base of a small Buddha statue which is still standing *in situ* in one of the small chapels unearthed by Mr. Oertel to the west of the Jagat Singh Stūpa. With the help of the above inscription the legend can with some certainty be read as [*dēyadharmmō=yaṁ Dhana*]*dēvasya*, this the pious gift of Dhanadēva.

The characters of both inscriptions are practically identical. This is of importance because it helps us to date the various structures round the Jagat Singh Stūpa.

VIII.

On the base of a broken Buddha statue (Sculptures No. 19) found in clearing the mound of spoil earth to the south of the Jagat Singh Stūpa, at the level of the small shrines surrounding it. The inscription reads—

dē[ya]dharmō=yaṁ Kumāraguptasya.*

This the pious gift of Kumāragupta. The characters belong to the fifth century, and it is possible that the donor was in reality the emperor Kumāragupta I, from whose reign we possess inscriptions dated between the years 415 and 448 A. D.

[1] Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1903-04, pp. 222 & f.

[2] *Journal of As. Soc. of Bengal*, N. S., Vol. II, p. 445. Mr. Vincent A. Smith's attempt, in the *Journal R. As. Soc.*, 1909, p. 167, to derive the word from *dharmāpēkshā* is not convincing.

IX.

On a rail post of the 6th century A. D.

Śākyabhikshu(ō)r=Vōdhishēṇasya.

(Gift) of the Friar Bōdhishēṇa.

X.

On the same post, which has been put up as a lamp post, under the lamp hole,

[paramopāsa]ka-Bhavarudrasya pradīpaḥ.

The lamp is a gift of the (devoted worshipper) Bhavarudra. A little later than the preceding, but still sixth century.

XI.

On a statue of the Buddha in *dharmachakramudrā* (Sculptures No. 11) of about 9th century, the ordinary Buddhist creed. Beginning broken off.

XII.

On the lower part of an image (Sculptures No. 41) of the tenth or eleventh century, Buddhist creed, and below,—

dēyadharmmō=yaṁ=upāsaka-Mābhūkasya (?). This the pious gift of the layman Mābhūka.

XIII.

A broken and fragmentary stone inscription, written in corrupt Sanskrit and found in the trench to the north of the Jain enclosure, west of the Dhamēkh—the "Hospital" of earlier excavations. There are altogether six inscribed fragments. All proper names are missing, and the end, moreover, is very fragmentary. The date is, however, almost intact, and Professor Kielhorn has been good enough to calculate it. He shows that the inscription is one of the Kalachuri (Chēdi) Karṇadēva of Tripurī and is dated in the (Kalachuri) Saṁvat 810, on the 15th day of the bright fortnight of Āśvina, on a Sunday, corresponding to Sunday, the 4th October A. D. 1058. His unparalleled knowledge of Indian inscriptions has also enabled him to restore the missing words of line 6, referring to the date. The missing syllables at the end of line 6 can also be restored with tolerable certainty.

TEXT[1].

1 1. . . . . *.sta-sarvv-āndhakāra-va* . . . .

2. *nirupa* . . . . *.pār-aikagantā(ḥ) bhuvana* . . . . . .

1 3. *paramabhaṭṭā[raka-mahārājā]dh[i]rāja-paramēsvara-śrī-Vāma[dēva-pād-ānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭā]-*

1 4. *raka-mahārāj[ādhirāja-para]mēsvara-paramamahēsvara-Tri(Tri)[Kaliṁgādhipati-nija-bhuj-ō]-*

1 5. *pārjit-Āsvapati-[Gajapati-Na] rapati-rāja-tray-ādhipati-srīmat-Karṇa [dēvakalyā]-*

1 6. *ṇa-vijaya-rājyē sa[mvatsare 8]1[o] Asvina sudi 15 ravau* ‖ *A [dy=ēha śrī-Saddharmma]-*

[1] For the wording of the beginning of this inscription compare e.g. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVII, p. 225.

l 7. *chakra-pravarttana-mahā-v . . mahāvihārē āryya-bhikshu-saṁghasya stha . . .*
l 8. *pātrika manōrathagupta* (*au ?*) *āsīrvādapada*[*ṁ*] *samādāpitau manājā*[*nānu-jāyi*]-
l 9. *paramōpāsakaḥ Dhanēsvaraḥ damanēma*(*na*) *sañjamēna* (*saṁyamēna*) *rāg-ādi-mala-prakshā*[*laṇa-paraḥ*]
l 10. *tasya bhārjā* (*bhāryā*) *mahājān-ānujāina- paramōpāsikā Māmakā yā ati . . .*
l 11. *gaṇ-ālaṅkrit* [*a**]-*sarīrā tayā likhāpit-ārya . . .tā sarvva-vuddha-jan . . .*
l 12. *ashṭasahasrikā prajāpaṭha-nivandhanā . . .ttaṁ ā-chandr-ārka-mēd* [*i**]-
l 13. *nī yāvat āryabhikshu-saṅghasya samarpitaḥ . . .vādhakaṁ karē-*
l 14. [*t*] *sa pishṭāyāṁ krimi* [*r**]*bhūto pitṛibhiḥ saha pa*[*chyatē*].

Translation.

In the [happy] victorious reign of the [Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara], the devoted worshipper of Mahēśvara, [the lord over Trikaliṅga, who by his own arm] had acquired the title of lord over three Rājas, *viz.*, the lord of horses, [the lord of elephants, the lord of men], the illustrious Karṇa(dēva), [who meditated on the feet of the] Paramabhaṭṭā[raka Mahārājā]dhirāja Paramēśvara, the illustrious Vāma[dēva], in [Kalachuri] Saṁvat 810, on the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight of Āśvina, on a Sunday. Here to-day, in the big Vihāra called Saddharmachakrapravarttana, of the order of the friars, the Sthaviras . . .and Manōrathagupta were caused to give their blessing.

The text then goes on to state that the devout worshipper Māmakā, a follower of the Mahāyāna, whose body was adorned with a multitude [of various virtues], the wife of the follower of the Mahāyāna, the devoted worshipper Dhanēśvara, who was bent on washing away the stains of passion and so forth by self-control and restraint, caused a copy of the Ashṭasāhasrikā to be written, and presented something (we cannot say what) to the order of monks, for as long a time as moon, sun and earth endure, apparently in order to ensure recitations of the book.

The inscription then ends with one of the usual imprecations, to the effect that, whosoever makes an obstruction, he will become a worm in the intestines and be cooked together with the Fathers.

The translation of the above is not quite certain in all details. The beginning probably contained some blessing, which cannot be restored.

The language of the inscription is corrupt Sanskrit, and there are several incorrect forms and spellings. Such blunders do not, however, interest us here. The important fact disclosed by this epigraph is, that a monastery at Sārnāth as late as the 11th century A. D. was known as the Saddharmachakrapravarttanavihāra, the monastery of the turning of the wheel of the noble law. This is of course the fuller form of the Saddharmachakra of the seals and the Dharmachakra of the Mahīpāla inscription.

The remaining inscriptions discovered during the season's work are late donative nscriptions or contain the Buddhist creed, none of them being of special interest for Archæology or Epigraphy. Some, it may be noticed, have already been mentioned in connection with the antiquities on which they have been found.

J. H. MARSHALL.
S. KONOW.

EXCAVATIONS AT SAHRIBAHLOL.

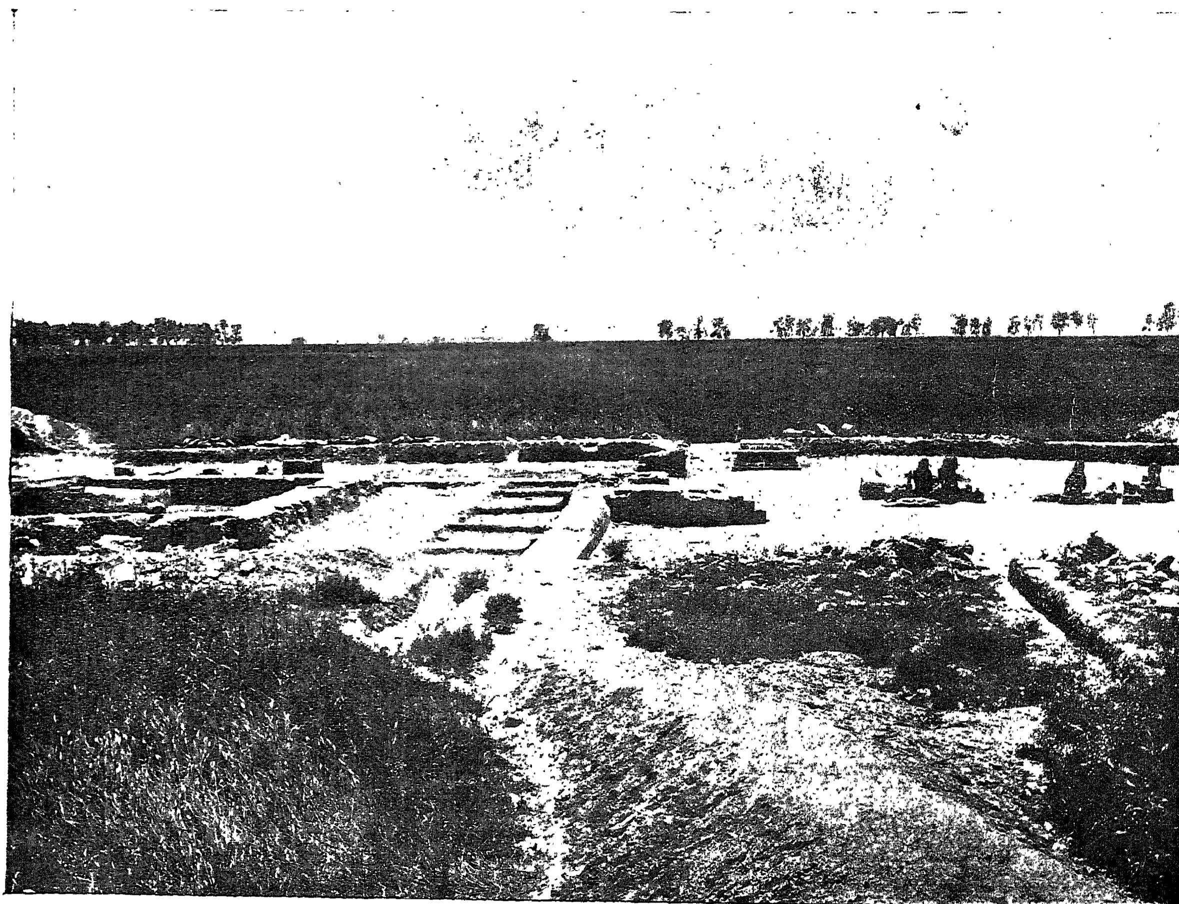


Fig. 1. General view of the site after excavation.

SAHRĪBAHLOL[1] itself is a large modern village perched high on an extensive mound some seven miles north of Mardān in the North West Frontier Province, not far from the Swat canal, to which, I understand, the village in large measure owes its origin. As is usual in such cases, the new settlers, mostly Paṭhāns from beyond the Border, have selected the largest and highest of the mounds in the vicinity as a site for their village, as it was on the one hand too high for irrigation and consequently uncultivable, and as, on the other, the numerous remains with which the place must

[1] The spelling Shahr-i-Bahlol meaning " the city of Bahlol " is declared incorrect by people in the district, but I am unable to offer any satisfactory explanation of the ward Sahri.

originally have been covered furnished abundant material for the construction of the rude dwellings which the present occupants erect. Even to-day foundation walls appear here and there in those parts which have not yet been built over, and these, as well as the immense amount of ancient stone used in the modern hovels, and portions of the high and massive retaining wall, of the most perfect Gandhāra construction, which are still found at rare intervals about the whole, lead to the conclusion that at some early period the modern Sahrībahlol was the site of an important settlement. From the nature of the retaining wall above mentioned, furthermore, it would seem that this settlement was not a religious community, but a strongly-walled and fortified town, with large numbers of houses scattered here and there as at Taṛalī, and similarly all built of stone on the well-known principles of Gandhāra construction. This hypothesis, I would add, appears to be strengthened by the fact that, so far as I know, no sculptural finds of a religious nature have ever been made in the main mound itself, whereas the surrounding mounds have yielded large quantities. I judge, therefore, that the main mound marks the site of an ancient town or city, which may or may not have been a royal residence (the local tradition, I believe, has it that it was), and that the cuirously large number of lesser mounds, which to the number of a dozen or more surround the main mound on all sides, at a distance of from one to two miles from it, are the remains of the many temples or *stūpas* erected in connection therewith. That so obviously large and important a centre should have passed entirely from the memory of man is as strange as it is regrettable. Even if we agree with M. Foucher that the Chinese pilgrims were not archæologists as such, it remains curious that sites, which still have so much interest for even the layman, as Sahrībahlol and more particularly Ta<u>kh</u>t-ī-Bāhī—distant only some three or four miles from the former—should not at all have appealed to such devout pilgrims as Fa Hian and Hiuen Thsang, and I cannot find their silence in regard to both at all easy to understand. For it is amply evident from the frequency with which ruined and deserted sites are mentioned in their writings that they were not so entirely lacking in archæological interest as has been asserted. But whatever the explanation, the fact remains that neither Ta<u>kh</u>t-ī-Bāhī nor Sahrībahlol is mentioned in any of the Chinese accounts, and until further excavations lead to the recovery of epigraphical material—which is unfortunately altogether lacking among the present finds—the identification of the site must remain unsettled. It is much to be regretted that the presence of the modern village closes the principal mound to exploration. There, perhaps, evidence might be found which would shed light on this important question. But the cost of compensating the present inhabitants, were they to be dispossessed, would be so large that one hesitates to recommend the step, the more particularly in view of the large number of unoccupied mounds in the Province which still await examination. But I should like in this connection to call attention to the desirability of preventing, in so far as is practicable, a similar occupation of important archæological sites in future, and I would specially mention the unfortunate practice of selecting ancient mounds as places of sepulture for the dead. When once a modern grave is placed on the summit of a mound, the mound and all its contents are lost to present-day science, and in some cases the loss is very great. Thus more than one of the mounds at Sahrībahlol itself are closed to examination by the mere presence of a few graves somewhere on their slopes.

The discovery of the site whose excavation is here described (itself almost the smallest and most inconspicuous of all the mounds in the neighbourhood) is interesting as showing how much of the deplorable destruction of antiquities in this district has come about, and as illustrating how the European, even when not directly, is indirectly responsible for it. A certain wealthy man in a neighbouring town had commissioned a peasant of Sahrībahlol to procure *buts* for him that he might in turn present them, or rather the best among them, to the officers of the regiment in which his son was serving. The peasant naturally set about filling the order, but fortunately had not made very much progress when in the course of my winter's tour I visited the spot and learned from him the facts of the case. He lead me to the place and assisted me in examining it, when the truth of his statements became evident, and the urgency of preventing the further spoliation of the site obvious. I accordingly decided to excavate the site at once, with the consent of the Local Government and the financial aid of the Director General of Archæology, who gave me a grant of R500 for the purpose. The work was accordingly taken in hand on February 12th, 1907, from which date it continued until April 20th, the total cost being R685-11-5, of which the amount over and above the grant of R500 was drawn from the funds provided for archæological works in the budget of the Public Works Department.

My starting-point was given me by the discovery on my return that in a pit sunk in the southern side of the mound by the villagers subsequent to my first visit, the corner of a wall had been disclosed. I accordingly sank a trench from the outermost edge of the mound to meet this wall, which proved to be the foundation of a religious building still showing traces of the stucco ornamentation, consisting of Buddha figures seated between Corinthian pilasters, with which it had originally been decorated. After ascertaining the general orientation of this building, therefore, I crossed the mound and led a second trench from the northern edge due south, along the alignment of the first building, and disclosed a wall of Gandhāra masonry approximately 4 feet wide and 69 feet long. As this wall rose everywhere to a height of about 3 feet, and showed an absolutely smooth and level surface, it was apparent that it was merely a stone substructure or basement. Nay, traces of the *kachcha* superstructure it had formerly supported were still to be found in the layer of earth mixed with *bhūsa*, which lay along its top. The further fact that it nearly bisected the mound from north to south led to the conclusion that it was the main divisional wall of the site, and the discovery of a further wall leading to the east at right angles to the northern end of the main wall, together with the discovery of a small *stūpa* to the west of the religious building first disclosed, pointed to the fact that the mound represented an ancient religious establishment with the monastic quadrangle to the east and the religious precinct to the west. Assuming, therefore, that sculptural finds would be largely, if not entirely, restricted to the latter portion, and being anxious to secure whatever there was of this nature as soon as possible, lest our operations might be terminated by the approaching harvest season before the completion of the excavation as a whole (as it was impossible to foresee how slowly the work might progress), we devoted our attention as soon as the above facts wer e determined to the exploration of the western half of the site.

We had not uncovered the little *stūpa* above referred to more than a few inches, before it became apparent that it still preserved its original ornamentation in stucco,

consisting of a line of friezes composed of elephants and Atlantes alternating, and not only *in situ,* but in most admirable preservation. In the hope, therefore, of protecting these delicate friezes, it was decided not to uncover it further for the present, and a trench was led past it merely, but at such a distance as to leave it enveloped in its covering of earth. However, despite these precautions, I found on returning to the site one morning that some one had been there in our absence and either out of fanaticism or out of pure wantonness scraped away the earth, and with some strong instrument totally demolished the frieze of Atlantes and elephants so far as it was accessible, namely, on three sides of the building! I therefore determined to complete the excavation of this *stūpa* first of all, in order to register photographically whatever artistic evidence might yet be preserved before further accidents might happen, and was delighted on laying bare the northern side, the one untouched by the vandals, to find that it had been the front of the building, and therefore adorned with a frieze of still greater interest than those which had been wrecked. And it was found, too, that there was still another frieze on each side of the building below the one at first uncovered, the lower one being composed of seated Buddha figures between Corinthian pilasters, as in the case of the religious building already mentioned. The workmanship in the case of the *stūpa* friezes, however, was distinctly superior to that of the temple façade.

To our great disappointment, on continuing our trench to the west in alignment with this *stūpa* no further buildings of any kind were found. On the other hand, we did find, on clearing the space in front of the long central wall, a stone platform some 4 feet square approached by a well-preserved flight of stone steps rising from a stone pavement. This proved to be the main pavement of the enclosure, and led along in front of what must have been the central religious edifice of the community, presumably a *stūpa,* but so far destroyed as to furnish no conclusive evidence. The most interesting and important feature of the whole, though, was this, that a line of stone sculptures, with one exception Bōdhisattva figures, originally about 4 feet 6 inches high, was found still *in situ* on either side of the approach to this now lost building, which line of standing figures was flanked on either side by a seated Buddha figure, only one of which was found actually in position, set a little back from the main row, Plate XXXII. So far as I know, these are the first free standing sculptures to be found *in situ* in Gandhāra, which fact invests them with considerable interest, though it is to be deplored that they were all badly damaged, in large measure apparently owing to the fact that the greatest depth of the mound in this part was not sufficient to cover their original height. Indeed, the jagged points of the neck of one Bōdhisattva were found protruding slightly above the surface of the mound before our first trench here was sunk.

As regards the eastern portion of the site containing the monastic quadrangle, there is little of interest to note. The usual arrangement of cells was found built around the sides of a courtyard. The centre of this court, however, showed a feature of some interest in what appears to have been a tank whose nature as such, however, depends for its determination chiefly upon the covered drain that leads from it to the south. The numerous irregular orifices or bays in the outside wall of this tank, however, are not so easy to explain. The size of the individual opening makes one

hesitate to explain them as sockets for wooden pillars supporting a superstructure and yet there seems no other explanation for them.

The sculptural finds were singularly rich and numerous. No complete detailed list of them is here given, as this will find its natural place in the illustrated catalogue of the Peshāwar Museum, where the collection is now exhibited. But an even better idea of the extent of the finds than such a list would give, can be gathered from the statement that they number nearly 300 fragments and fill twelve cases in the Museum, where they take up more than one entire side of the main gallery. Considering the entire insignificance of the site itself, a hardly noticeable mound measuring 125 feet in diameter, and nowhere rising more than five or six feet above the plain, this yield may fairly be considered phenomenal. And when it is further remembered that the site had already been exploited by the villagers to a considerable extent (for along the western edge large pits were traceable at intervals over a length of sixty-five feet) the wealth of sculpture which must originally have adorned even this little centre of the cult is seen to have been enormous, and enables us to form some idea of what a dazzling scene of splendour such a *stūpa* site must have presented in its prime. For the ample traces of painting and gilding which were found show conclusively (as indeed is well known) that in the days when these Graeco-Buddhist sculptures were set up and worshipped, they did not then present the dull dreary monotony of their present-day slate-colour, but blazed with a barbaric splendour of red and gold as well as other brilliant colours. To form any adequate conception of the pristine beauty of these ancient shrines one must compare the wealth of gold and colouring in the modern temples of the faith in Burma and especially Japan; for with nothing before one but the dull greyness of the present ruins, thick with the dust of centuries and given over to the sombre lizard and other crawling things, the imagination fails utterly to paint again the brilliant beauties of the ancient times.

In arranging these sculptures in the Museum an attempt has been made, so far as I know the first attempt of the kind, to exhibit them with some classification, and the collection has accordingly been divided into groups following in the main the classification adopted by M. Foucher in his brilliant study of the Gandhāra school, and the same order will be followed in the present paper.

The first section of the collection is a miscellaneous one, containing the stucco fragments recovered. The majority are heads of either Buddhas or Bōdhisattvas (fig. 2) but of no special interest and calling for no special remark, although several are of admirable execution and considerable beauty as can be seen from the one shown in figure 13 of Plate XXXV. There are also several animal heads, lions, cows, and one horse's head showing the bridle, etc., but the most interesting figure in the group is that of a warrior in armour. This figure, which is in three pieces and unfortunately lacks the head and right arm, stood originally above the volute at the left-hand side of an arch. But as the arch was itself of earthwork merely faced with stucco, it was found impossible to preserve it, but it was registered photographically and is here reproduced in figure 3 of Plate XXXV. The figure of the warrior itself is of solid chunam and hence easily removable. It wears a double-skirted, imbricated coat of mail, falling to the knees, reminding one of the armour worn by Māra and his hosts in many of the scenes representing the Temptation of the Buddha, though here it

appears in most cases to be rather quilted than imbricated in the true sense. In the sculpture depicting this scene in the present collection, however, the armour is the same



Fig 2. Miscellaneous stucco heads.

as in the figure under discussion. The feet are encased in high boots reaching half-way to the knee, but the rest of the leg appears to be bare. The elbow of the left arm rests against the side, but the hand is raised to the shoulder and holds a shield narrow in the centre but with broad round ends, resembling a figure 8. The face of this is roughly decorated. On the whole, the pose of this figure is graceful and natural, and the modelling good and without exaggeration. I am not aware of any exact parallel to it among the sculptures so far recovered in Gandhāra and regret the more that our search failed to afford any trace of the corresponding figure at the other side of the arch. The fragment was found near the north-east end of the main *stūpa*, between it and the raised platform mentioned above, but there was unfortunately nothing to indicate its correct original position.

The first section of the main body of the collection, namely, the fragments of stone sculpture, contains those pieces which illustrate specially archaic elements in the art of Gandhāra, that is to say elements which are known to have been either indigenous in Indian art, or, if of foreign origin, of earlier importation and adoption than those imported for the first time by the Gandhāra school. The majority of the pieces in this section, numbering in all 83 stones, are fragments of cornices and borders and portions of friezes showing commonly kneeling figures under ogee arches, separated one from another by pilasters of the Persepolitan type. (*cf.* fig. 2 of Pl. XXXV). The cornices and borders show the imbricated or cone pattern, and frequently a row of brackets (not archaic) decorated above with a long line of the saw-tooth ornament. Other figures have the form of the archaic Buddhist rail. Thus fragment No. 64 is a rail of this nature with three crossbars bordered above with a row of pipal leaves with

points turned upwards and surmounted by two complete merlons, the component cubes of which are indicated by lines drawn on the face of the stone. Others show the familiar eglantine *motif* with from four to six petals (*cf.* Nos. 67 and 97), and the same design appears on a number of square medallions (Nos. 74, 75, 77, etc.). Other archaic elements represented are the latticed balcony (No. 86), the bead and reel design (No. 102), the lotus, and a number of elephants. A particularly interesting stone is the one reproduced in figure 1 of Plate XXXV, where a parrot is shown beside an arch, the interior of which is decorated with a row of plain brackets. The execution both of the bird and of the fruit it is eating is excellent, even to the expression of the eye, and the feathers, especially those of the tail, are indicated with great delicacy and success. But I fear we are not warranted in interpreting the fruit as a custard-apple, despite its appearance, for if Crooke is right in saying that this is an importation from America, it would be a sad anachronism. (Or are we perhaps justified in thinking that this sculpture is itself evidence against this theory ?). But perhaps the most interesting stone in this group is the one shown in figure 4 of the same plate, a large square medallion, broken at the upper left-hand corner, showing an exceptionally good example of the Assyrian honeysuckle *motif*. Curiously enough no other fragments of this design were recovered, which is the more to be regretted as the present stone is distinctly above the average of those showing this design, both in feeling and in execution.

Of the new elements in Indian art originated or newly imported by the Gandhāra school, by far the most important is of course the figure of the Buddha himself. But although a few such figures have been introduced into this section of the Sahrībahlol collection in the Museum, for historical purposes, the consideration of them in this paper will be reserved to the portion dealing with these figures separately. Of the other new elements, the most important are the cornices with brackets showing Corinthian capitals, of which numberless specimens were recovered. These and the Corinthian pilasters speak eloquently of the Greek influence under which the school arose, as do the friezes showing little Erotes carrying a long garland. Another new foreign *motif* is seen in sculpture No. 109, a fragment of a frieze showing a very ornamental scroll of vine-leaves and bunches of grapes. This design, as is well known, is not native to India, as the vine is not itself indigenous ; but it is less certain whether we owe its appearance in Indian art altogether to the Gandhāra school, or whether it was merely here introduced for the second time. There seems no reason, however, to differ from M. Foucher in holding that at least its use as a scroll or border is new in Gandhāra, and the piece has accordingly been included in this section (*cf.* Foucher, p. 222). Another reason that might have excluded it altogether from the collection, was the fact that it is not strictly part of the present finds, as it was found not in the mound excavated by me, but lying on the surface of one of the other mounds in the immediate neighbourhood. So long as this fact is registered, however, it seems best to include it with the others. It is in any case in every sense a "Sahrībahlol sculpture." The newly-imported winged marine monster appears on the triangular stone No. 112, and winged Tritons with long spotted tails occur in fragment No. 116 shown in fig. 5 of Plate XXXV. The largest of the other three compartments in this sculpture appears to have contained one of the legendary scenes of the

Buddha's life, but it is too far damaged to admit of identification. Finally, the highly ornamental border of eglantine is to be noticed.

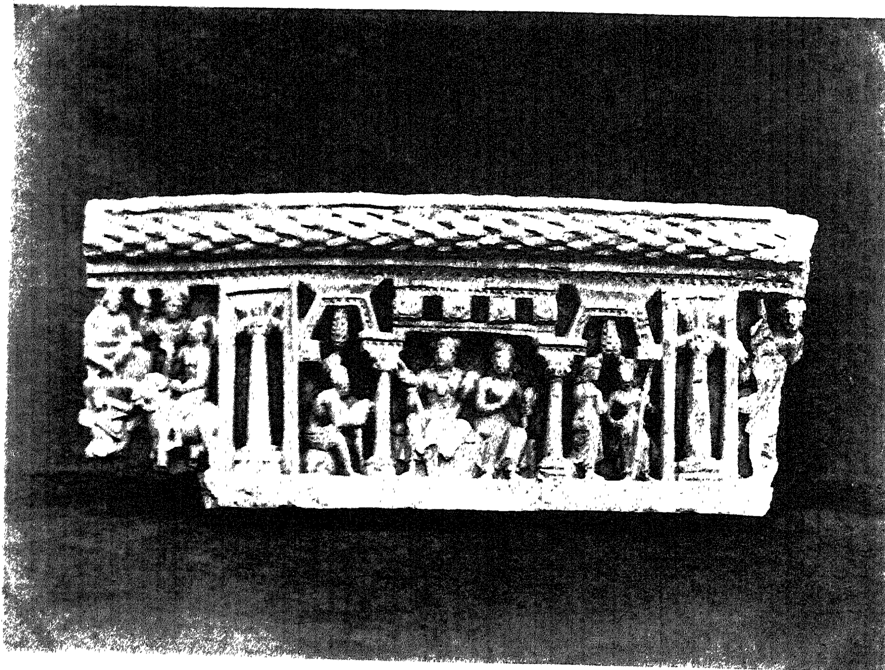
The next section, consisting of sculptures representing scenes from the legend of the Buddha, is in some ways the most valuable of all. It comprises 28 stones, some of them of large size, and occupies two cases. First in the list come the famous four chief scenes in Gautama's life, the birth, enlightenment, first-sermon, and death. The stones are all of the same size, and must have been companion pieces, placed somewhere along the front of the main *stūpa*, judging from the position in which they were discovered. The several scenes are too well known to call for special description here, as the present stones show no important deviations from the usual type. The musical instruments depicted above the head of Brahmā, as he stands to receive the new-born infant, are perhaps worthy of mention in regard to the Birth scene (fig. 6 of Pl. XXXV).

Also, the well-defined imbrication in part at least of the armour worn by Māra's host in the scene of the Temptation is noteworthy, as well as the absence of any bow-carrying figure, as Māra himself is usually represented. As is well known, this representation of the Buddha's temptation by the hosts of evil typifies in Gandhāra art the moment of Gautama's attaining supreme enlightenment, which it does chiefly by reason of the near synchronism of the two events in the legend. Of all the different postures of the hands in Buddhist sculpture, that associated with this scene, the posture, namely, of touching the earth with the right hand as the Buddha called upon the Earth-goddess to bear witness to his right to retain the seat from which Māra was seeking to dislodge him (the so-called *bhūmi-sparśa-mudrā*) is almost the only one, whose association with a given episode is nearly constant in the Gandhāra school of art. The mudrā associated later with equal invariableness with the third of the chief scenes, the posture called "Turning the wheel of the law" (the *dharmachakra-mudrā*) is not so unfailingly associated with this scene in Gandhāra. Thus, the specimen in this collection shows the Buddha with right hand upraised in the attitude of protection (the *abhaya-mudrā*). The symbolism of the wheel (representing the wheel of the law) above the triśūl, (representing the "three jewels," the Buddha, the law, and the order, the trinity of the Buddhists) and the two deer recalling the site of the event itself, namely, the Deer-park at Sārnāth, is common in Gandhāra and, as usual, occurs along the front of the Buddha's seat in the present instance. The death-scene shows no special deviations from the usual form of composition, though attention may be drawn to the fact that the sculptor has solved the problem of the halo behind the head of the reclining Buddha with more success than is usual, and the folds of the garment, while not strictly correct, are nevertheless much less offensively those of a standing figure than is common. The whole pose of the figure is distinctly good, and not even in the case of the garment could it be called "a standing figure laid upon its side." (Fig. 10 of Pl. XXXV.)

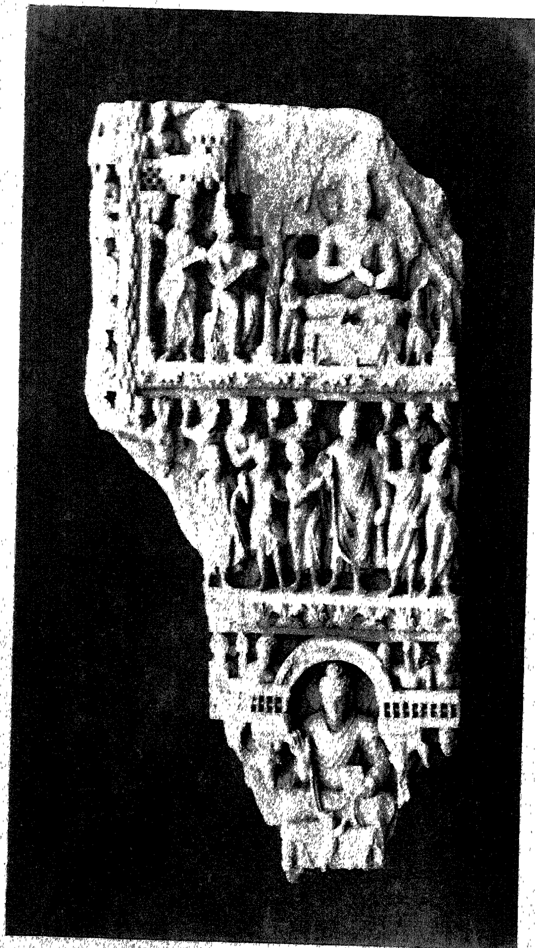
Another well known scene is that of the Ṛishi Asita casting the horoscope of the infant Gautama (Pl. XXXI, fig. *a*). The royal father and mother of the child are seen seated in the centre of the composition, separated by Corinthian pilasters from the supposedly Greek girls in attendance on the (proper) left, and the Ṛishi Asita on the right, seated on a low stool with the child on his lap. He is

understood to be making to the king that forecast of his son's future greatness which so distressed Śuddhōdana. The extreme (proper) right of this stone is of special interest. Here we have a portion of a second scene, in which the figures of the child writing and again riding on a ram are distinct. The propriety of the ram is unknown to me, but the position of this fragment just beyond the scene of the horoscope as one would naturally progress while making the customary circumambulation with the right hand to the centre—a point which is often of assistance in determining the identity of a scene, as in this way some hint of chronological sequence is not infrequently given—and the certain interpretation of the writing figure as typifying the writing lesson of the young Siddhārtha, both lead to the conclusion that the stone as a whole was one of a series portraying in an abbreviated form the life of the Buddha in chronological order, and that following the horoscope was a complex scene typifying the whole period of his youth and early training. But, so far as I know, a similar form of representation of this subject has not been found before, which lends the fragment added interest. Certainly in no stone that I am aware of is the young prince depicted riding on a ram. Before leaving the subject of this sculpture, however, the singular delicacy and beauty of its execution should be noticed. Even the faces of the leading figures are sculptured with skill and precision, although there seems to be no attempt made to represent particular facial expressions.

Sculpture No. 138 in the collection (Pl. XXXI, fig. *b*) is a large fragment forming originally the central portion of one of those false niches built out from the sides of a *stūpa*, on which portions of three legendary scenes are preserved, none of them as yet identified. The fragment shown in figure *c* of the same plate is the right side of a companion stone to figure *b*; and from the two the original form of the whole sculpture can be seen, although the top of the fragment *b* is lost and should be completed so as to make the top line of the whole represent the outline of the double-domed chapel as seen in section or silhouette (*cf.* the illustrations in Foucher, pp. 184 and 185). The unbroken stone therefore originally showed in the centre at least four such large legendary scenes as appear in figure *b*, arranged one above another. On either side was a border of the cone-like pattern, beyond which came a vertical line of nine (or ten?) small seated Buddha figures under rounded arches (with the exception of the topmost one, where the arch is pointed). To the right and left of these, again, was a further wider band of six legendary scenes arranged vertically, each consisting of a standing figure of the Buddha with two companions, the outer edges of each scene being closed by Corinthian pilasters, save in the uppermost panel, where a third attendant was introduced to fill the space. On the outer side of each of these lines of legendary scenes, furthermore, were very narrow vertical lines of little Erotes in a variety of attitudes, but all standing, and all facing the centre of the stone; and, like the rows of little seated Buddhas, so sunken or set back as to make the vertical rows of legendary scenes both large and small stand out in conspicuous relief. The extreme outer edges of the whole, to right and left, were decorated with a border of acanthus leaves, the trefoil curve above showing a scroll of five-petalled eglantine just within this border. The irregular spaces between this scroll and the tops of the rows of smaller legendary scenes and Erotes were respectively occupied by a worshipping winged Triton and a figure keeling in adoration upon a Corinthian capital.



(a) ASITA CASTING THE HOROSCOPE.



(b) CENTRAL PORTION OF FALSE NICHE.



(c) RIGHT SIDE OF FALSE NICHE.

Of this original the present fragment (fig. *b*) shows only a portion of the central part, with portions of three of the large legendary scenes as mentioned above. In the lowest of these, the Buddha is seen seated cross-legged on a decorated throne underneath an arch adorned with the saw-tooth pattern supported by Corinthian pillars, now broken, and connecting two balconies of lattice-work resembling the archaic rail pattern and holding each two female figures apparently casting flowers upon the Buddha. The latter holds a bowl in his left hand, which rests upon his knee, while the right hand is raised with the palm turned outwards in the attitude of protection (*abhaya-mudrā*). Both shoulders are draped and the hair is arranged in natural waves. Before the throne is a very small standing figure, presumably a child, either lifting up his hands in supplication or making an offering, it is impossible to determine which. No other figures are preserved save the head and uplifted right hand of a man underneath the (proper) left-hand balcony. This scene is separated from the one above it by a fairly wide band of well-carved acanthus leaves. In this second scene the Buddha is shown standing in the centre of the composition turned slightly to the (proper) left. His right hand is again upraised in the attitude of protection (*abhayamudrā*) while in his left he appears to hold a small uncertain object, if he is not really catching up his garment. At his right side stands a lay figure with the right hand wrapped in his mantle, his hands seemingly clasped. Next to this figure stands Vajrapāṇi with the vajra in his left hand, and in his right an uncertain object resembling a bunch of flowers. The figure is nude to the waist as usual, and wears a short *dhotī* falling to the knees. At his right, again, is a monk. The lower right-hand corner of the scene is lost, but above the figures just described, all of which are standing in the right foreground, four other figures are shown leaning out of the background. Three of these are, unfortunately, too badly damaged to allow of certain recognition, but the royal head-dress of the fourth leads to the conclusion that they all represent Dēvas, one worshipping, the others casting flowers upon the Buddha. A similar figure is shown in the background on the (proper) left. A large part of this half of the scene is lost, but two complete figures are preserved. The one immediately at the Buddha's left is a young layman with the right shoulder bare and the right hand raised, holding aloft what seems to be a small jar. This is undoubtedly the leading figure in the scene, and the one whose identity would give the clue to the interpretation of the whole. On his left, again, is a female figure turned slightly away from him. Her left hand is raised to her head while with her right she clutches the garment of the man. The presence of Vajrapāṇi and the monk ought to place the scene chronologically subsequent to the enlightenment and it is barely possible that we have here a representation of the conversion of Ugrasēna (*cf.* Foucher, page 520). The embarrassed attitude of the young woman and the youthful appearance of the male figure are in favour of this assumption, but the total absence of any musical instrument makes it at least uncertain. If the exact nature of the object held in the young man's hand could be determined, the question might perhaps be solved, but I cannot myself feel any certainty as regards this point. The composition would, at any rate, represent this legend more adequately than the sculpture tentatively so identified by M. Foucher (p. 522). The second musician in that scene hardly compensates for the absence of the girl. And it is possible that were our stone complete, the more obvious clues to the scene would be given. The third scene

at the top of the stone shows the Buddha again seated cross-legged on an ornamental throne. His hands appear to be held in the posture of turning the wheel of the law (the *dharmachakra-mudrā*) but the scene certainly has nothing whatever to do with the first sermon. At either side of the throne stands a diminutive figure with clasped hands, just inside the pillars which, though now broken, must have originally supported balconies connected presumably by an arch as in the lowest scene. The entire left side of the composition is lost and the upper portion of even the fragment preserved is very badly damaged, but the balcony on the right with one female figure is intact and two figures beneath it are only slightly injured. The one nearer the Buddha is a woman seated on a richly ornamented stool, with a female attendant standing behind her. Both of these have their hands clasped in the direction of the Buddha. But the scene is so badly damaged that I hesitate to make any suggestion as to its identity. It might conceivably be any one of several, but a hypothesis in these circumstances could not be more than a mere guess.

The fragment shown in fig. *c* of Plate XXXI shows only a very narrow strip from the extreme (proper) left of the main central scenes of the original whole, eight of the small seated Buddhas, and the arch of the ninth and missing figure below, four of the smaller legendary scenes, the row of Erotes and the acanthus border, with the Triton and kneeling figure above. Of the four large legendary scenes the lowermost fragment shows merely the damaged bust of some royal or Bōdhisattva figure (whose face is missing) and the head and shoulders of a similar figure above it (a Dēva?) holding a flower in its raised right hand. Of the scene above this only one figure is preserved, that of a woman standing and holding in her raised right hand what might be a round mirror, and in her left a long and narrow object of doubtful character. Above this, only the figure of one seated monk is preserved with another figure above and behind it, while the uppermost fragment shows a small nude figure apparently waving a cloth above its head. None of these scenes I fear are susceptible of interpretation, as the fragments preserved are far too slight to afford conclusive evidence. Nor can any guess be hazarded as to the significance of the smaller and obviously much abbreviated legendary scenes to the right.

Several other similar fragments of the other false niches of the main *stūpa* were recovered, especially one large but badly damaged one representing certainly, in the main scenes, the voluptuous life in the harem and the later abandonment of his home by the prince Siddhārtha, in other words the Great Renunciation.[1] But the condition of the stone does not permit of successful reproduction. The large fragment No. 152 is especially interesting. This is also from the central portion of the original whole, and the central one of the fragmentary scenes preserved calls for special mention, as it appears to represent a scene hitherto unknown in Gandhāra. The Buddha, standing with Vajrapāṇi on his right, is turned slightly toward a figure on his (proper) left who kneels on one knee before the entrance to some double-domed building at the extreme left of the composition. This is undoubtedly the principal figure in the group, and the one upon whose identity the interpretation of the whole depends. The other figures in the scene are damaged and of no apparent importance.

[1] I am indebted to Dr. Vogel for having pointed out the agreement between the two fragments of this stone, No. 154, in the collection.

But whereas a mere kneeling figure would be practically impossible to identify the present one is distinguished by the fact that he appears to be crouching behind a large tree, whose base, however, is raised well above the surface of the ground. This seems certainly to give the clue to the meaning of the composition, and unless I am much mistaken, the whole represents that one of Nanda's several attempts to escape from the monastery which is recounted by Beal on page 373 of his Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha. In the absence of the Master, Nanda, whose conversion or consecration Buddha had effected by force regardless of the subject's wishes, attempted to run away from the monastery (which I believe the double domed chapel to represent), but the Buddha realizing the situation by virtue of his miraculous power, suddenly appeared in the Nyagrōdha garden through which Nanda was hastening. Perceiving the Buddha, therefore, Nanda attempted to hide behind a tree, but the Master observing this caused the tree to rise suddenly from its place and thus disclosed the culprit, which is the moment intended in our sculpture.

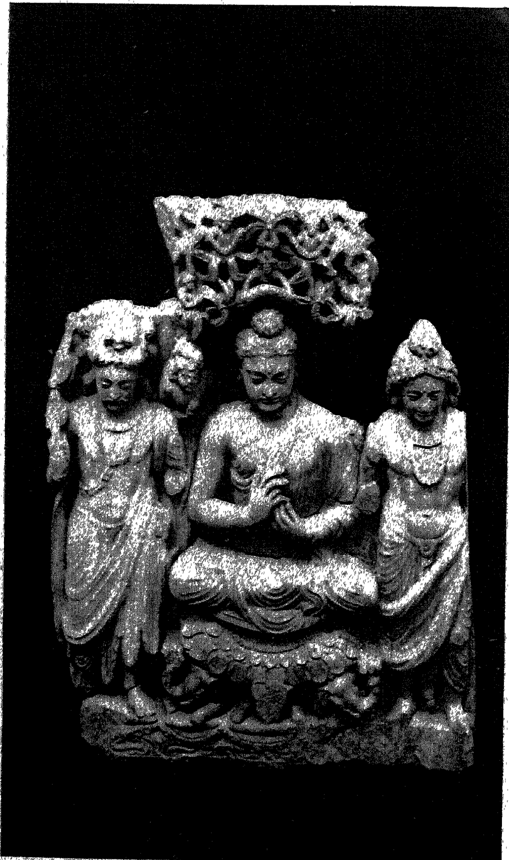
Other familiar scenes represented in this section are, the Departure from Kapilavastu (No. 134), the Dīpaṇkarajātaka (No. 135) and a very interesting scene from the story of the conversion of Kāśyapa (No. 136). The Buddha is shown seated within the fire temple in meditation, while the story of the fears of fire aroused in the minds of the Brahmans by the effulgence of his person is amusingly called to mind by the figures of two young ascetics mounting to the top of the building by a ladder carrying large water-jars, obviously to put out the supposed conflagration. The venomous serpent overcome by the Buddha on this occasion is seen meekly crawling into the begging bowl which is placed before the Buddha's seat. The Dream of the Queen Māyā is depicted in No. 138, but there is nothing in the treatment of the theme calling for special mention. I should like to add here that the Museum possesses another representation of this scene, presented by Major Rawlinson, which is of very special interest. As is well known, the sacred white elephant which Māyā conceived to be approaching her, entered and remained in her *right* side only, according to the accepted legend. For this reason in all Gandhāra sculptures depicting this scene Māyā is shown lying on her left side, with her head to the proper left of the stone; though it should be noted that the older school of Indian art is not careful as regards this point (*cf.* Foucher, p. 293). But in the piece presented by Major Rawlinson the queen is lying with her head to the right. This does not, however, imply any negligence of the tradition on the part of the sculptor; for once having placed her so, he has not hesitated to keep with the tradition by the simple device of representing her as lying with her back to the spectators. Thus, in place of her face, we see merely her coiffure, and the approaching elephant is still permitted access to the traditionally correct right side. An admirable fragment of the wrestling match is seen in No. 143, and the Slaughter of the Elephant by Dēvadatta in No. 142. For despite one's first inclination to call this stone the Subjection of the Elephant by the Buddha, the nudity of the human figure precludes the possibility of its being Gautama, and it must accordingly refer to Dēvadatta jealously killing the elephant which was to bring back the victorious Siddhārtha from the games.

Following these legendary scenes in the Museum come certain stones which I have called Devotional Sculptures, as they appear to be connected with the cult of Buddhism rather than to illustrate the story of Buddha's life. Such is the very fine stone shown in Plate XXXII, fig. *b*. (No. 171 in the Museum). The Buddha is depicted seated cross-legged (his hands in the *dharmachakra-mudrā*) on a highly conventional lotus supported by three kneeling elephants holding lotuses in their uplifted trunks. (The one facing, it should be noticed, is injured.) His right shoulder is bare and he wears no moustache. The protuberance on the skull (the *ushṇīsh*, one of the physical characteristics of the Buddha's person) is prominent, and the hair of the head combed back from the forehead and waved in a natural and graceful manner. Beside him stand two Bōdhisattvas. The one on the proper right is nude to the waist, save for some slight drapery over the left shoulder, and wears the usual necklaces and the jewelled cord over the left shoulder and under the right arm. The hand (which is damaged) is raised, while the left arm is entirely lost. The figure wears a moustache and the elaborate head-dress shows a large medallion in front, without, however, any trace of a lesser Buddha figure. This was probably relegated to a balcony at the corner of the composition above the Bōdhisattva's head, as is seen in the altogether analogous sculpture No. 158, but the corner is unfortunately lost. The Bōdhisattva figure on the proper left of the Buddha is similarly nude to the waist but does not wear the jewelled cord. There is no moustache and the head is decorated merely with an elaborate coiffure strongly resembling a large wig. In this case also the probable balcony above with a smaller seated Buddha as well as the right hand is missing. But the left arm and hand were recovered after the photograph here published was taken, and I am glad to be able to state that it holds the expected alabastron. Above the Buddha's head is an intricate mass of divine flowers, not unlike the passion-flower, amid which little genii are seen in attitudes of devotion, the central one holding a wreath directly above the Buddha's head. It should be noticed that the carving here is exceptionally deep and fine, the stalks and many of the petals being in the round. At the Buddha's right shoulder appears a small figure leaning forward out of the background, obviously in worship, which must obviously have had a pendant on the left. Underneath the whole, finally, along the front of the base, is an elaborate design in lotuses, but badly damaged towards the left. As mentioned above, the sculpture No. 158 is very similar, the Buddha being seated as before with his hands in the same posture (*dharmachakra-mudrā*). Similarly, the Bōdhisattva on his right wears a high head-dress, of the same general type as that in the previous sculpture but not identical. His right hand, which was raised, is lost, and in his left he carries a doubled wreath or garland like that shown in figure 8 of Plate XXXV. The Bōdhisattva on the left here, again, wears no head-dress, but has his hair arranged in an elaborate loop to the left, as seen in fig. *b* of Plate XXXIII. He does wear the jewelled cord. The right hand is raised with the back of the hand outward, but it does not appear to be holding any attribute. The left hand is again held down at the side but is damaged, and it is not certain whether it held an alabastron or not. Now, are these the Bōdhisattvas Avalōkitēśvara and Maitrēya respectively? I am inclined to think they are. For although the right hand of the Bōdhisattva standing on the (proper) right of the Buddha in sculpture No. 171 is broken off, the shape of the

EXCAVATIONS AT SAHRI BAHLOL.



SCULPTURES *IN SITU* IN FRONT OF MAIN STŪPA.



BUDDHA WITH TWO BODHISATTVAS.



KUBERA AND HĀRITĪ.

fracture above the hand points to its having originally held a lotus. Furthermore, the Buddha seated in the little balcony above the corresponding Bōdhisattva on the right in sculpture No. 158 has his hands folded in the *dhyāna-mudrā* and seems to represent Amitābha, while the presence of the alabastron in the left hand (recovered after the photograph) of the other Bōdhisattva in the sculpture shown in fig. *b* of Plate XXXII is equally positive evidence for identifying him with Maitrēya. Of course it is obvious that the figures do not absolutely agree in both sculptures, but in general the correspondence is such that they may safely be assumed to represent the same persons, and perhaps more could not be expected in the Gandhāra school.

Other interesting stones which have been included in this section for convenience are shown in figure 2 of Plate XXXV. They represent, the upper one the cult of Siddhārtha's turban, the second the cult of the bowl, and the third and the fourth the cult of the relics. For, however improbable a form for this last subject the figure occurring on both these fragments may at first appear, the position of a precisely similar figure following a representation of the Buddha's cremation reproduced by M. Foucher on page 587 of his work on Gandhāra art leaves no doubt as to the identity and significance of the figure here.

The Bōdhisattva figures recovered (a few of which are shown in Plate XXXIII) form quite a collection by themselves, and one of great interest and value. As is well known, the problems connected with the Bōdhisattvas and their identification are among the most difficult with which the student of Gandhāra art is concerned. The question as to how far the Bōdhisattva theory had been developed at this period, has never been finally answered, and how far we are justified in attaching specific names to the Bōdhisattva figures of this school is uncertain. But the Sahrībahlol sculptures alone show such a distinct fixation of type, particularly as regards the head-dresses worn, that it is impossible to escape the conviction that the development had already advanced considerably, perhaps more than has been generally acknowledged. The difficulties of the problem are many. In later Buddhist art the various Bōdhisattvas have certain attributes which serve to differentiate them and make their recognition comparatively easy. But in Gandhāra the case is not so easy. Here we are dealing with an earlier phase of both art and religion, and these attributes do not appear to have as yet become so fixed and constant as in later times. It is the same here as in the case of the various *mudrās* mentioned above. The aids upon which the student might hope to depend either fail him altogether or are misleading. A further difficulty lies in the fragmentary nature of the majority of the sculptures recovered. As in the case of large Buddha figures, the hands of the larger Bōdhisattvas also were not carved out of the same block as the main body of the figure, but were from the beginning carved separately and added to the finished statue. For in this way the artist was saved the labour of cutting away the vast amount of superfluous stone that would have been necessary had he worked with a block of sufficient thickness to include the hands, which regularly project considerably beyond the lines of the body itself. It thus happens that the majority of large Bōdhisattva figures lack the hands and consequently the distinguishing attributes. The only significant characteristic left us in many cases is the form of the head-dress.

The importance of this for a right interpretation of the sculpture is clear from the importance attached to it in the later Buddhist literature, where it is expressly stated that "they are to be recognised by their head-dresses". But as yet unfortunately we do not know the forms peculiar to individual Bōdhisattvas in Gandhāra. Nor, indeed, considering how variable and indeterminate the other attributes and *mudrās* are, is it perhaps to be expected that the type was so fixed and invariable as later. But the sculptures under review seem certainly to justify the conclusion that the art had already progressed well along the road to such fixation, at least. Thus, we have noticed above that both the figures which appear to be Avalōkitēśvara in the devotional pieces discussed wear similar high head-dresses, while both the Maitrēyas show nothing but the coiffure. The ugly wiglike appearance of the latter in the sculpture shown in figure *b* of Plate XXXII, is perhaps sufficient reason for its having yielded, as the representation tended to approach uniformity, to the more graceful style shown in the case of the second sculpture. However this may be, no other Bōdhisattva figure was found showing the same coiffure as that in this figure, whereas several heads were recovered which reproduce more or less exactly the type of coiffure worn by the second Maitrēya. Instances are the two figures *b* and *c* of Plate XXXIII, the former of which gives us in the posture of the hands a further reason to suppose that Maitrēya is meant; for the *dharmachakra-mudrā*, according to Grünwedel, is the normal characteristic of this Bōdhisattva in Tibetan art. If, then, our reasons for assuming that the Bōdhisattva on the left of the Buddha in the devotional sculptures is Maitrēya, are sufficient, and if we are right in following the dictum of the Amitāyur-Dhyāna-Sūtra, are we not justified in assuming that this type of head-dress, namely, a coiffure bound with pearls and characterized chiefly by a large loop above and to the left of the forehead, regularly indicates Maitrēya in the Gandhāra school? I think we are, and if reference be made to figure 140 in Grünwedel and Burgess's "Buddhist Art in India" (page 192) it will be seen that here again in the Bōdhisattva figure on the left, which Grünwedel identifies with Maitrēya, the same type of head-dress or coiffure occurs.

The determination of the figures of Avalōkitēśvara is more difficult. The correspondence between the head-dresses of the two figures so identified in the devotional sculptures above is not exact enough to give us a final standard, but that Avalōkitēśvara wears a high head-dress as opposed to the coiffure of Maitrēya seems certain. Such a high head-dress appears in figure *a* of Plate XXXIII, and this may possibly be Avalōkitēśvara. If, furthermore, one of the two medallions recovered at this site originally fitted on to the disc in the centre of the head-dress, the case is much strengthened. For that this disc did originally support such a medallion is certain, from the form of the medallions themselves (which are pierced to fit just such a column as occurs in the centre of the disc) and both these medallions show a figure corresponding to the Amitābha of later times. Unfortunately, the sculpture in its present condition does not allow of our determining exactly which one of the two belonged to it, but that one of them did, seems very highly probable, and if so, the figure is almost certainly Avalōkitēśvara; but I fear that it is impossible to affirm it with certainty.

EXCAVATIONS AT SAHRI BAHLOL



(a)



(b)



(c)



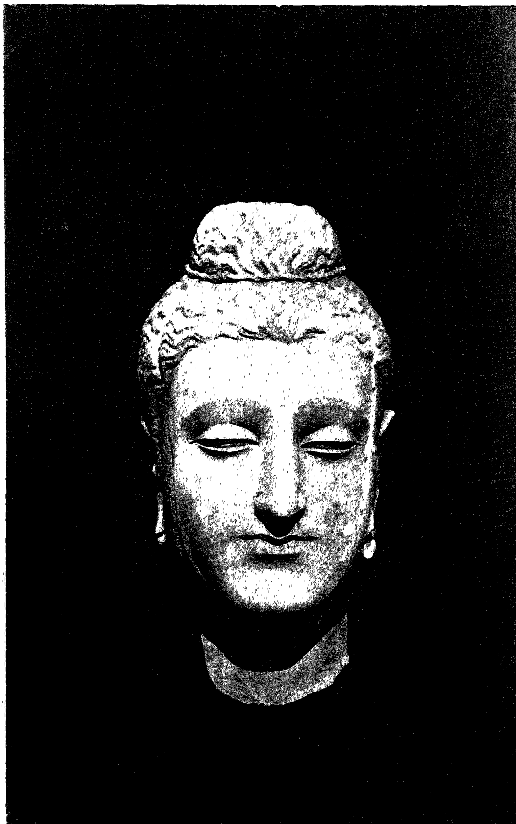
(d)

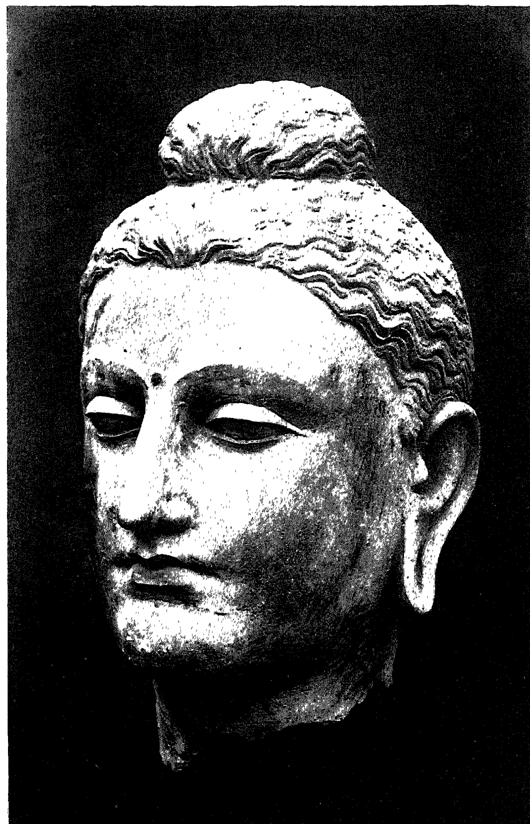
BODHISATTVA FIGURES.

EXCAVATIONS AT SAHRI BAHLOL.


(a)


(b)

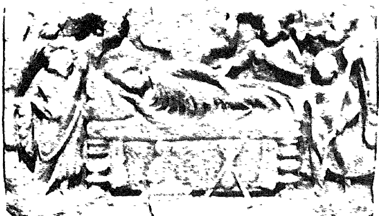

(c)


(d)

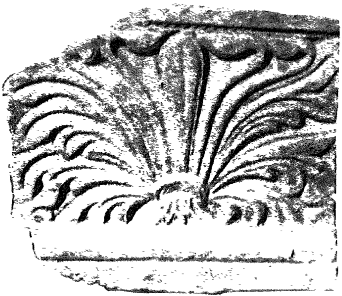
BUDDHA FIGURES.

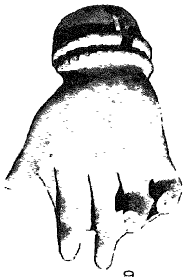
EXCAVATIONS AT SAHRI BAHLOL.


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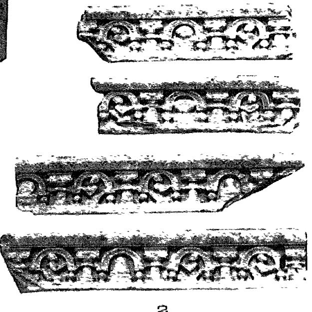

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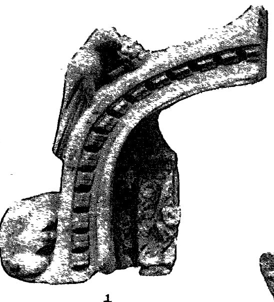

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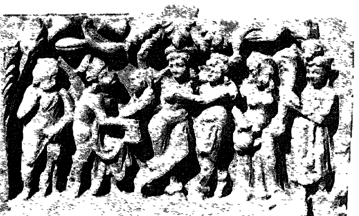

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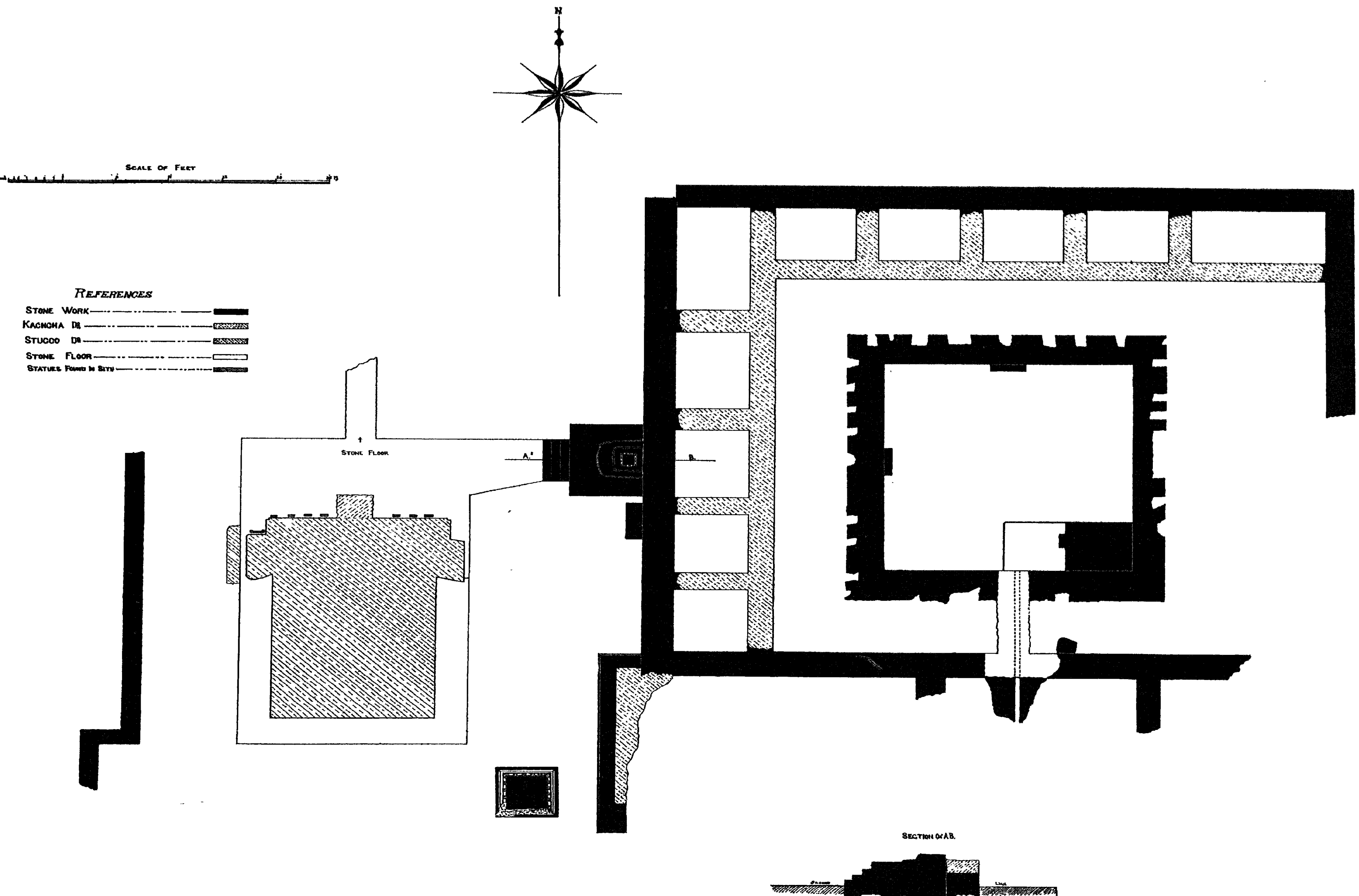

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14

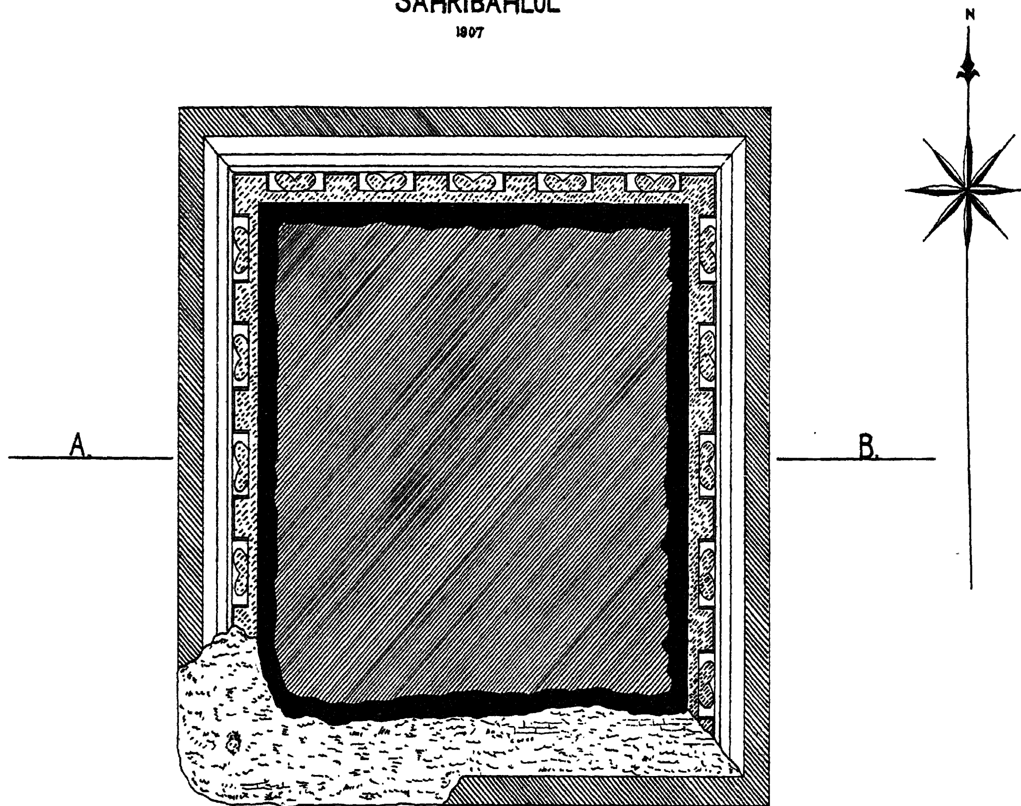

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EXCAVATIONS AT SAHRI BAHLOL.

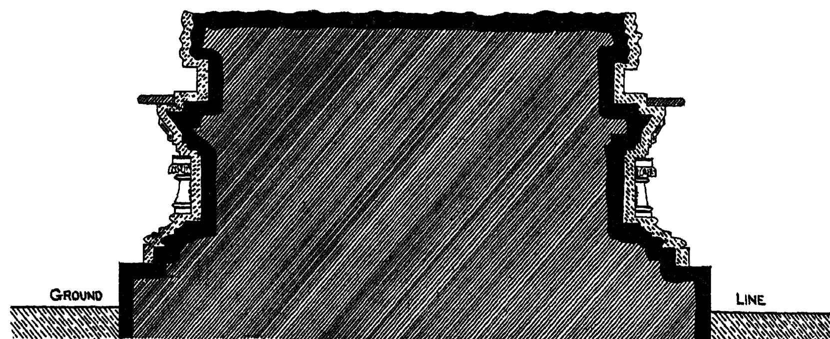


GROUND PLAN OF THE SITE EXCAVATED.

PLAN OF A STUPA DISCOVERED IN THE EXCAVATION OF A MOUND NEAR SAHRIBAHLOL 1907



PLAN



REFERENCES

STONE WORK

STUCCO WORK SHOWN IN ELEVATION

STUCCO WORK SHOWN IN SECTION

EARTH WORK

SECTION ON A.B.



SCALE OF FEET

Another head with a similar high head-dress is shown in figure 14 of Plate XXXV, but whether this originally supported the other of the two medallions is impossible to determine. It is not improbable, however; and if so, this head also would seem to be Avalōkitēśvara, but more than this cannot be claimed.

An entirely different type is seen in figure 12 of the same plate, where the peculiar pose of the head is striking. That both pose and head-dress are significant seems certain from the fact that the later excavations at Ta<u>kh</u>t-ī-Bāhī yielded an exact counterpart; but unfortunately I have no clue to an identification either of this figure, nor of the exquisite little stone head shown in figure *d* of Plate XXXIII.

Of the Buddha figures in the collection there is less to say.

Plate XXXIV illustrates some of the best, and the exceptional delicacy and beauty of figure *a* are obvious. The large standing Buddha in figure *b* is also excellent, but the nose is slightly injured. The face of the head shown in figure *c* was found split off, and has been fastened on in the photograph by a string tied around the *ushṇīsha*. The departure from the usual type is noteworthy, and the striking similarity between this head and the one shown in figure 15 of Plate XXXV leads to the thought that possibly both are by the same artist. Figure *d* in Plate XXXIV represents the largest of the heads recovered, and will, I think, be acknowledged as unusually strong and beautiful. But of equal interest with the heads are some of the other fragments of Buddha figures recovered. Thus the hand shown in figure 9 of Plate XXXV is remarkable for the well-defined webbing between the fingers, one of the physical characteristics of the Buddha figure, while the edge of the bowl shown in figure 7 of the same plate is interesting for the careful indication by means of grooving on its edge of the fourfold nature of the Buddha's begging-bowl.

Of all the stone sculptures recovered, however, perhaps the best, next to the beautiful seated Buddha on Plate XXXIV, is the remarkably fine group of Kubēra and Hāritī shown in Plate XXXII, fig. *c*. That there is a tendency towards exaggeration in the treatment of the trunk in the case of the male and of the breasts in the case of the female figure is undeniable, and the legs are disproportionately short.[1] But with all these defects the sculpture is extremely graceful and pleasing; the profile of Hāritī being hardly rivalled for delicacy and real womanly grace in Gandhāra art. It is marvellous that the piece has not been more damaged, but indeed the majority of these Sahrībahlol sculptures are in an unusual state of preservation, as can be seen from the illustrations here given. Are we justified in concluding from this fact that the site was never the scene of wilful vandalism? That it was destroyed by fire is certain from the abundant evidence afforded by the excavations, but the condition of the sculptures would seem to indicate that the conflagration was accidental rather than intentional. Only it must be acknowledged that if this was the case, it is extraordinary that no attempt was made by the monks to recover the better preserved of the images after the accident. But however this may be, it is to be hoped that it

[1] Dr. Bloch suggests that this shortness of the limbs may be intentional, in view of the dwarfish nature assigned to Kubera, as a Yaksha, in later art.

is an evidence that the other mounds in the immediate neighbourhood hold similarly rich treasures. That Sahrībahlol as a whole is one of the most important and promising sites on the Frontier is amply proven.

D. B. SPOONER.

EXCAVATIONS AT LAURIYA.

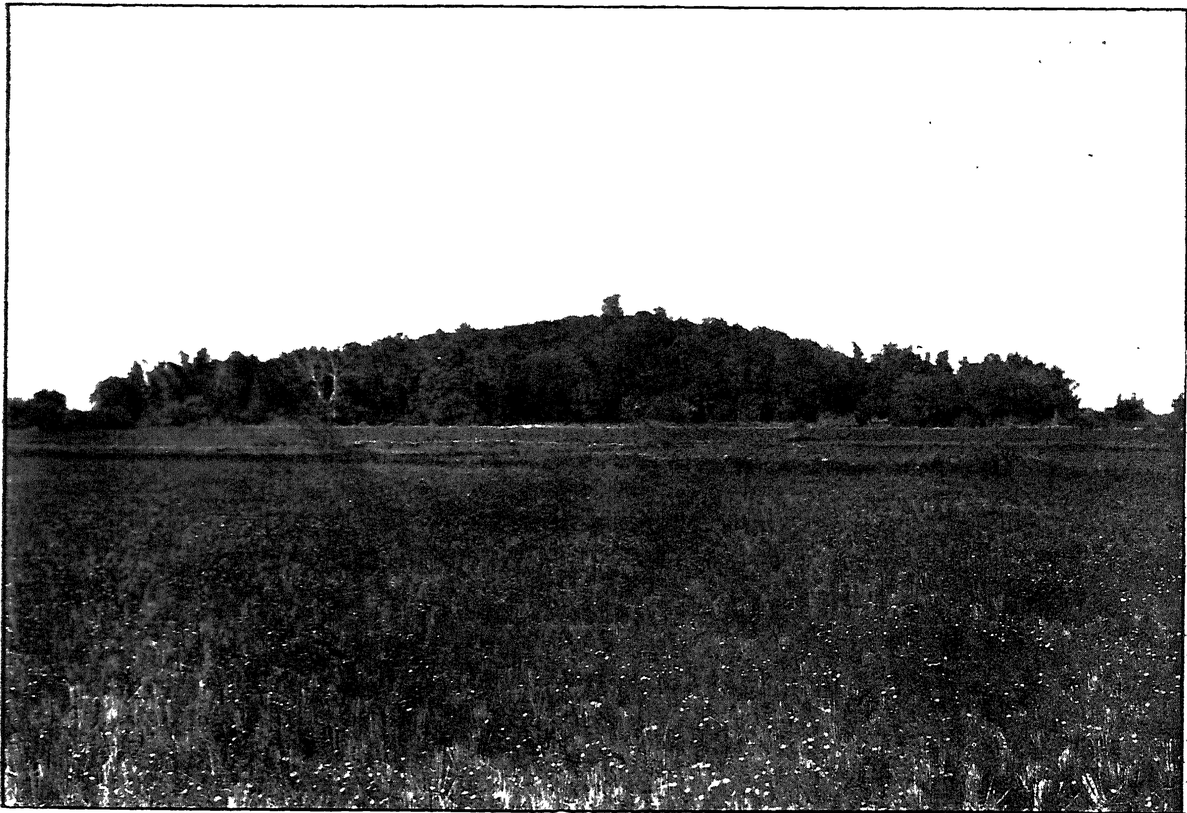


Fig. 1. View of Nandangaṛh, from south.

A brief account of the excavations conducted by me at Lauriya[1] to the north of Bettiah, has already been published in the Annual Report for 1904-05, on pages 38-40. The excavations were carried out by me in March 1905: but owing to ill-health and my subsequent absence from India on long leave, the publication of a more detailed report has been delayed up to the present time. As will be seen from my previous account, my operations were restricted entirely to four of the

[1] There are two Lauriyas in the Champaran District of Bengal, each of which derives its name from an Aśoka column standing there. The second Lauriya is some 20 miles north-west of Kesariya, in the south-western corner of the district. To distinguish it from the present Lauriya, it is sometimes referred to as 'Lauriya Araraj,' while the first Lauriya, which is 14 miles north of Bettiah, has been called 'Lauriya Navandgaṛh.' 'Navandgaṛh', however, is a misspelt form of the modern name of the old fort, south-west of the village of Lauriya. Its correct transliteration is 'Nandangaṛh.' The name *Lauṛiyā* has been derived from *lauṛ* 'a phallus' (Skt. *laguḍa* 'a stick'), and is due to the modern worship of the two Aśoka columns as phallic emblems.

earthen mounds, which certainly form the most conspicuous group of remains around the village of Lauriya. Unfortunately, neither time nor funds were then available to attack the problem of the Nandangaṛh, an enormous mass of ruined brick structures, as it appears to be, now thickly overgrown with trees and brushwood. It is, however, intended to attempt a solution of this very puzzling ruin at some future occasion, for the discoveries made in the earthen mounds north of the Nandangaṛh certainly lead me to expect that its thorough excavation will yield some very important and interesting results. At present it will be sufficient to mention that the Nandangaṛh forms an irregular quadrangle, the northern and eastern sides of which measure about 2,000 feet, while the western side is only 1,600 feet long, and the southern side has been shortened to only 1,100 feet. A distant view of the Gaṛh, as it looks when viewed from the south, is published as fig. 1 of this article. A very similar structure, as far as one is able to judge from preliminary observation, stands about 15 miles north of the Nandangaṛh; its name is variously spelt *Jānkīgaṛh* or *Chānkīgaṛh.* There is a very striking resemblance between those two gaṛhs, which, by the way, may be seen one from the top of the other. In regard to the Nandangaṛh, my subsequent account will, I think, demonstrate that it probably contains the remains of an *Arx,* or *Acropolis,* of an ancient city, and if this surmise ultimately should turn out to be correct, the remains there must go back to a very remote age.[1]

It was to the curious earthen mounds, north of the Nandangaṛh and of the modern village of Lauriya, that my operations in March 1905 were entirely restricted. They had remained a puzzle ever since Cunningham described them for the first time in 1861-62,[2] and no subsequent writer on the subject had been able to solve the riddle. Only one clue seemed to exist, to which any significance could be attached. I refer to the discovery, mentioned in the Bengal Administration Report for 1868-69, of "some leaden coffins containing unusually long human skeletons."[3] Mr. G. B. Moore, of the Lauriya farm, informed me that this discovery was reported to have been made in the mound marked I on the map of Lauriya. Apart from this, however, no other finds of any importance are known to have been made in any of the mounds, and it was evident from the beginning, that, in order to solve the problem, it would be necessary to dig a trench through the centre of several of them, from the top right down to the bottom, irrespective of any possible chances of making any finds of antiquities inside of them.

I selected altogether four mounds for this operation, *viz.*, those marked M, N, F, and H, in the map on Plate XXXVIII. Before, however, entering into details in regard to my excavations, I have a few words to add about the arrangement of the mounds:—

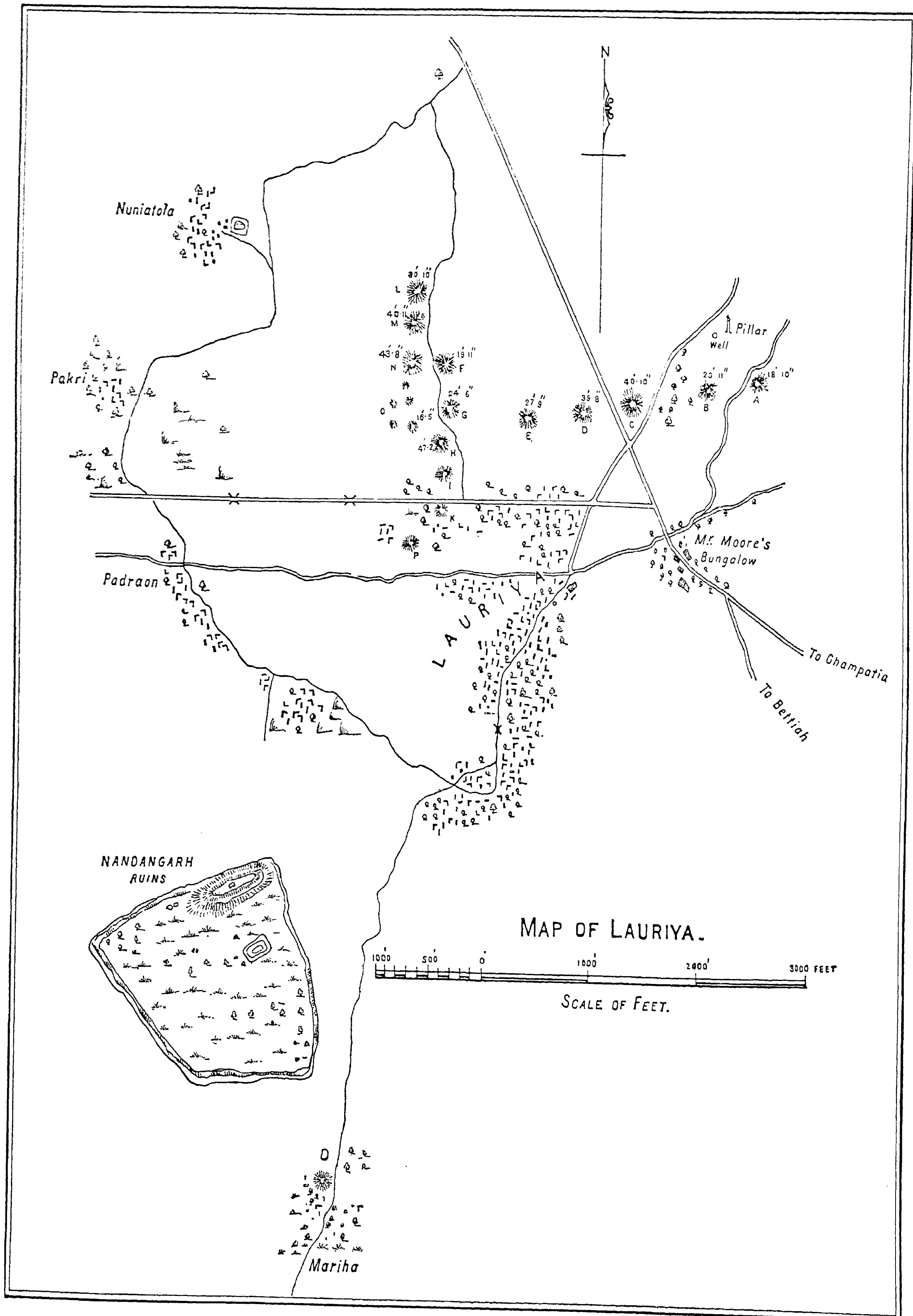
As will be observed from the map, the mounds are arranged in three lines of five each, varying in height from 43′ 8″ to 16′ 5″ and even less, for the four small

[1] Both the Nandangaṛh and the Jānkīgaṛh have occasionally been looked upon as Buddhist Stūpas, and various attempts have been made by previous investigators to identify them with some of the *stūpas* referred to by the Chinese pilgrims. Luckily, however, for our knowledge of private life in Ancient India, some of those supposed "Stūpas" are the remains of entirely secular buildings.

[2] *A. S. R.,* Vol. I, pp. 68-72.

[3] *A. S. R.*, Vol. I, p. 70, Note.

EXCAVATIONS AT LAURIYA.



Line Block.

Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, 1909.

mounds at O are certainly not more than a few feet high. Two of the lines follow the direction from north to south, while the third extends from west to east. The Aśoka Column stands a little to the north of mounds A and B. The outer appearance of the mounds may be gathered from the photographs of mounds D and N, shown on Plate XXXIX. Some of them, like D, are overgrown with low brushwood; while others, like N, are quite barren, the earth or yellow clay, of which they consist, being almost as hard as stone. In shape they are more or less conical, but the suggestion offers itself at once that, originally, they may have been somewhat hemispherical, their present form being due to the action of rain-water. The material of which the mounds are built has always attracted the attention of previous observers. It is a yellow clay, now almost as hard as stone, and quite different from

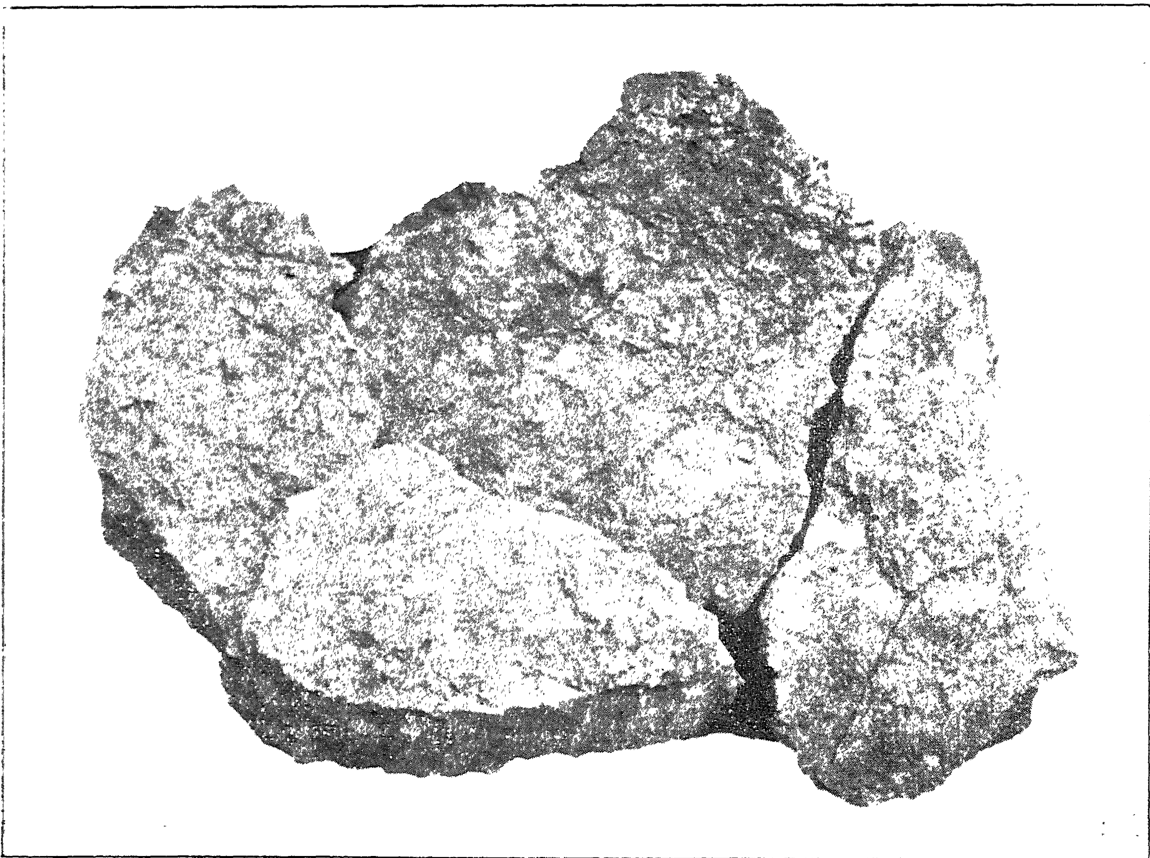


Fig. 2. Clay from funeral mounds, with traces of grass. Scale about ¼.

the white soil around them. A further feature, that should be kept in mind is the remains of an old streamlet, or *nala*, now quite dry in the winter season. It may be seen quite distinctly in front of mound N on Plate XXXIX (*b*), and it will be observed on the map as an irregular, single line, encircling the group of mounds from the north, west, and south, and separating them from the Nandangaṛh.

The first point that manifested itself on cutting through the mounds, was the fact that they had been built up of layers of yellow clay, a few inches in thickness with grass and leaves of trees laid between them. The clay broke off in irregular cakes, such as the piece shown in fig. 2, on which a number of irregular lines indicate the blades of grass that had originally been laid between this and the

adjacent stratum. Two leaves of a tree are seen on the two lumps of clay shown in fig. 3. Their shape may possibly suggest a *sāl*-tree (*shorea robusta*). In regard to the provenance of the yellow clay, the evidence pointed to the fact, that it had been taken out of the bed of one of the nearest rivers, presumably the Gaṇḍak, which is about 15 miles distant from Lauriya. A number of calcareous concretions, known to the natives as *kaṅkar* or *aṅkar*, together with various kinds of pebbles, rounded and smoothed by the action of running water, were found by me embedded in the clay of the mounds. Specimens of them have been examined by Mr. E. Vredenburg, of the Geological Survey, whose note on them will, no doubt, be found interesting. He wrote to me as follows :—

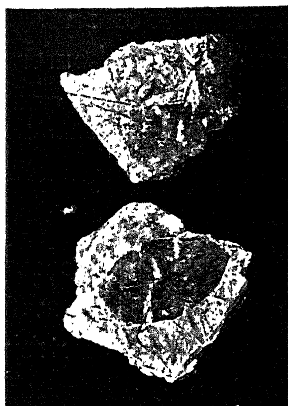


Fig. 3. Clay from Lauriya mounds, with leaves of *sāl*-tree. Scale : about $\frac{1}{5}$.

"The limestone is of the form usually found as nodules in alluvial soils, to which the name 'kankar' has usually become restricted in our geological literature. It is, therefore, probable that the clay constituting the mounds has been obtained from some bed in the Gangetic alluvium. At the same time, the presence of rolled pebbles renders it very plausible that it should have been obtained in the Gaṇḍak river, probably from a clay bed exposed in the river bank. The pebbles consist of rocks that are abundantly found in the Himalaya, from where they would have found their way into the Gaṇḍak river. There is one specimen of a fossil (or sub-fossil) shell, resembling the fresh water *ampullaria*, though not sufficiently well preserved to identify it with certainty. It probably comes from the Gangetic alluvium just like the 'kankar.'

The following identifications have been made for the several specimens :—

(1) Three pebbles of quartzite, such as may have been obtained from the denudation of the ancient sub-metamorphic beds, common in the outer Himalayas.

(2) Decomposed slate or ' phyllite,' probably from the same system.

(3) A mixture of the iron ores, 'hæmatite' and " limonite," containing a great deal of mica. This is an alteration product, to which it is difficult to assign its age and origin. It may have been derived from some altered bed of the ancient systems, but it is just as possible that it may be a concretion from the Gangetic alluvium.

(4) Cast of a shell, apparently the fresh water *ampullaria*.

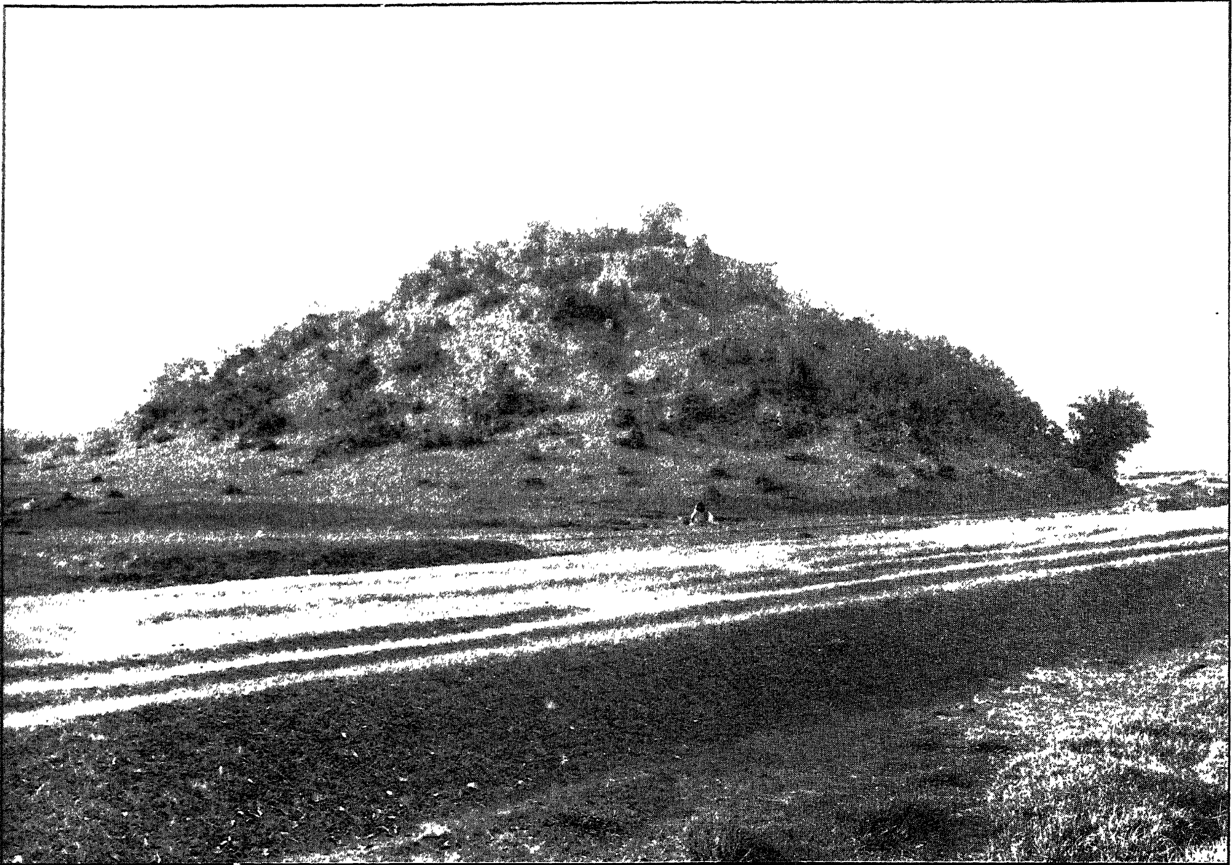
(5) Calcareous concretions, ' kankar,' from the Gangetic alluvium."

Of far greater importance, however, were the discoveries made in mounds M and N. I found here, at a depth of from 6 to 12 feet, a small deposit of human bones, mixed up with charcoal, and a small gold leaf, with the figure of a standing female, stamped upon it. One of those two gold leaves, found in M. is shown in full size in fig. 4. The fragments of bones were exceedingly brittle and difficult to separate from the hard clay, to which they stuck. However, a fragment of an upper human jaw, about $1\frac{1}{2}''$ in size, showed in one place two holes, one above the other, for one of the upper frontal teeth, and this may perhaps point to the fact that the person to whom it belonged, had died at a young age, while he, or she, was changing his or her teeth.[1]

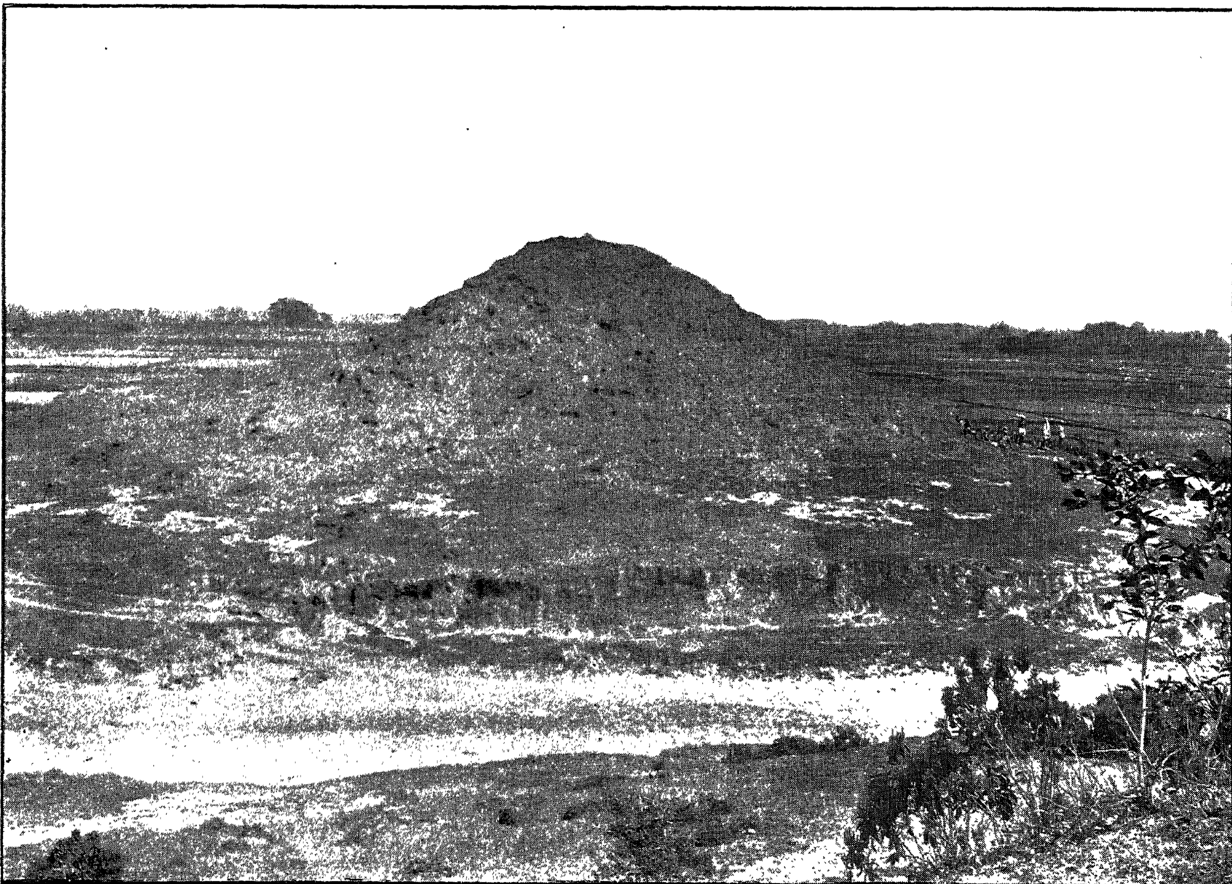


Fig. 4. Gold leaf, with image of *Pṛthivī*. Full size.

[1] I owe this suggestion to my friend, Dr. H. Finck, M.D., of Calcutta, to whom I showed the fragments of bones.



(a) MOUND D.



Half-tone. Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, 1908.

(b) MOUND N.

A little below the two deposits of human bones, —which, by the way, exhibited every sign of having been burnt, before being deposited inside the top of the mounds,— I came upon a circular hole, a few inches in diameter at the beginning, but widening considerably, as I went deeper down. This hollow shaft ran right through the centre of the two mounds, and it was perfectly evident, that it had been formed by an enormous wooden post, which had originally been placed inside the middle of the mound, and had been eaten up by white-ants, the nests of which could be traced everywhere around it. In fact, the end of one of these two wooden posts was found quite intact at the bottom of mound N, where the yellow clay stopped and the grey, sandy soil of the surrounding fields commenced. This shaft is shown on Plate XL. I continued digging around it to a depth of about six feet, when water was reached,[1] without, however, reaching the end of the wooden post.[2] The end of the second hollow shaft in mound M has not been followed up. This would have necessitated a great amount of very heavy earth-work, for which neither sufficient time nor funds were at my disposal, and it appeared to me extremely doubtful if the result obtained would in any way have justified such an expenditure. So much, at least, has been made certain by my excavations, that *the earthen mounds at Lauriya had some connection with the funeral rites of the people who erected them,* and it now only remains for me to state how I believe this connection to have been effected.

If we turn to the ancient *Prayogas*, the Vedic books on ritual,[3] we find that after the bones of a cremated person had been collected and deposited in an urn, a *śmaśāna*, or funeral monument, either of bricks or of lumps of earth (*loṣṭa*), was built over them. Such a monument evidently did not, under ordinary circumstances, reach the stately height of most of the Buddhist Stūpas, for we find it mentioned that it should be built up to the height of a human body. Its shape, also, generally appears to have been some form of a square, for we find round *śmaśānas* referred to only occasionally by Āpastamba and Hiraṇyakeśin. However, the Vedic Sūtras apparently do not describe the most ancient form of burial that existed in India. For in the Vedic Hymns we meet with certain verses which help us much better to understand the construction of the funeral mounds at Lauriya.

I refer especially to two verses in the 18th hymn of the 10th book of the Ṛg-Veda, the famous Funeral Litany of Ancient India. In verse 13 we read as follows :—

" I raise the earth around thee ; that I lay down this lump of earth, should not do me any harm.

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[1] The hollow opening of the shaft was filled with water, when I exposed it. The water had remained inside it since the end of the last rains, about the end of October, when the water level, of course, is much higher than in the dry season, in March, when I exposed the shaft.

[2] The total length of the wooden shaft must have exceeded 40 feet, if it really consisted of one single beam only. But even for a *Sāl* tree, this would be an enormous height, and I feel rather inclined to believe that the hollow inside the mound had been formed by two or more pieces of wood, placed one above the other. It thus becomes possible to explain a number of corroded iron nails, found especially in mound H, which may have been used in joining the various beams together. I feel, however, quite certain about the fact that the post found in N, consisted of *sāl*-wood. Scarcely any other kind of wood, available locally, would have been preserved for so many years inside the earth. Besides, *sāl*-wood could be had in great abundance from the lower slopes of the Himalaya, which are at no great distance from Lauriya.

[3] An admirable summary of the funeral rites of the ancient Indians according to the Vedic Sūtras will be found in *Dr. W. Caland's* book: *Die alt-indischen Todten und Bestattungs gebräuche.* (*Verh. des koninki Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, 1896*); also, somewhat shorter, in *A. Hillebrandt's Ritual-Litteratur, Bühler's Grundriss, III, 2, pp. 87 ff.*

"*May the manes hold this pillar for thee*, and may Yama prepare a seat for thee in the other world ."[1]

I doubt if anyone, in reading this verse of the Ṛg-Veda, would not at once remember the construction of mounds M and N, as described above. They consist of layers of earth or clay, raised around a wooden post or pillar, just as the funeral monuments, referred to in the Vedic verse, must have been. Indeed, while I was carrying out the excavations, this passage from the Veda occurred to me at once, and it is only with the help of this verse from the Ṛg-Veda, that I have been able to properly understand the results of my digging in mounds M and N at Lauriya.

But the same Vedic hymn helps us also a good deal further. We read in its 10th verse the following:—

"Go to thy mother, this earth, the widely extending, very gracious *Pṛthivī*.

"That maiden (sc. *Pṛthivī*, the earth), soft as wool to the pious, may protect thee from the abode of destruction."[2]

From this verse it becomes evident that we must look upon the two female figures, found with the bone deposits inside of mounds M and N (see fig. 4) as *images of Pṛthivī, the Earth-Goddess*, to whose tender care the dead body had been entrusted, to protect it against complete destruction (*nirṛter upasthāt*), as the Vedic poet expresses himself. Mr. Marshall, to whom I communicated this explanation of the Lauriya gold leaves, very kindly drew my attention to similar images of a female deity, found inside the ancient tombs at Mycenae and other prehistoric sites in Greece.[3] The image on gold leaves from Mycenaean tombs bears a very striking similarity to the Lauriya female deity, and as I find it described as an image of Kybele, I gather that its meaning probably also was very much like that of the *Pṛthivī* from Lauriya, the underlying idea of both being that the remains of the dead person are entrusted to the tender cares of Mother Earth, the all-preserving, who, as the above-quoted Vedic hymn so neatly and precisely puts it, will protect the dead from final annihilation (*nirṛter upasthāt*). I cannot, however, refrain from pointing out specially in this connection, that it has been *with the help of two passages from the Ṛg-Veda, that I have been able to correctly understand the results of my excavations at Lauriya.*

This fact inspires me with rather sanguine hopes for the future exploration of the

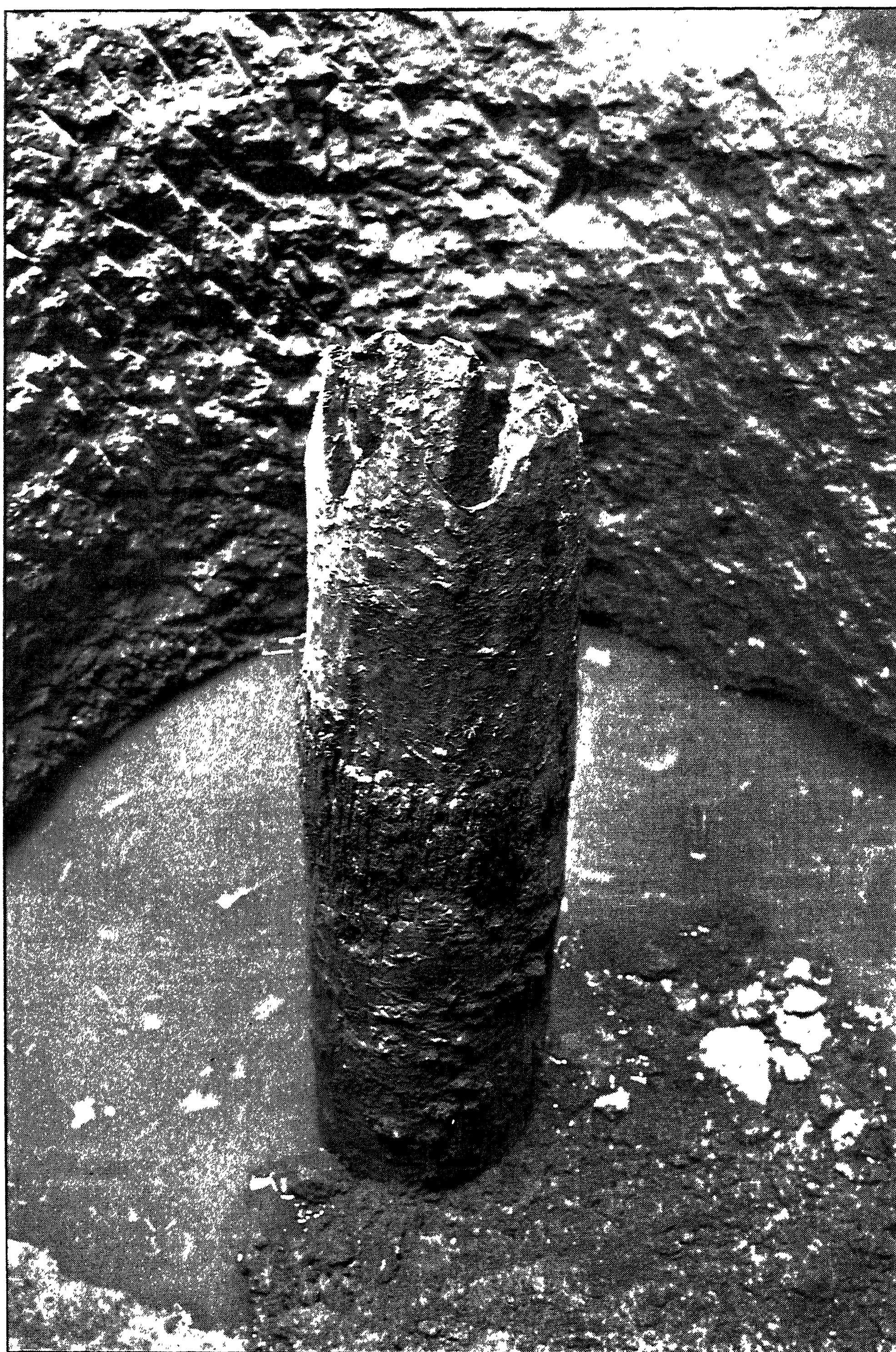
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[1] R. V. X, 18, 13:—
Ut te stabhnāmi pṛthivīṁ tvat parīmaṁ ;
logaṁ nidadhan mo ahaṁ riṣam.
Etāṁ sthūṇāṁ pitaro dhārayantu
te'trā Yamaḥ sādanā te minotu.

[2] R. V., *l. c.*, v. 10:—
Upa sarpa mātaraṁ, bhūmim etām,
uruvyacasaṁ Pṛthivīṁ, suśevāṁ.
Ūrṇamradā yuvatir dakṣiṇāvate
eṣā tvā pātu nirṛter upasthāt.

[3] See *Tsountas and Manatt, The Mycenaean Age, London, 1897, p. 185, fig. 79 ;* also Schliemann, *Mycenae, London, 1878, p. 182, No. 273.* Compare further, H. R. Hall, *The oldest Civilization of Greece, London, 1901, p. 110, fig. 38.* A further reference may be made to the stone figure of a female, found inside a prehistorie burial chamber from the stone age in France, of which Sophus Möller has published an illustration as Fig. 128, on page 150, of his *Urgeschichte Europa's, deutsch von O. L. Jiriczek, Strassburg, 1905.* Compare also the two small gold figures of a female, found with the relic deposit inside the Piprāvā Stūpa: *J. R. A. S., 1898, page 86, Nos. 11 and 15, and Plate.*

EXCAVATIONS AT LAURIYA.



Half-tone. Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, 1909

END OF WOODEN POST IN BOTTOM OF MOUND N.

Nandangarh, the citadel, or Acropolis, of the ancient city, to which the *Śmaśāna*, or burial-ground, to the north of it belonged. That an intimate connection must have existed between both sites, cannot, I believe, be doubted.[1] And in regard to the date to which the burial mounds belonged, I think that, apart from the fact of their having revealed to us funeral customs which find an exact parallel in a Vedic hymn, it is evident that they must go back to a period before the time of Aśoka. I look upon the mounds at Lauriya as the remains of some royal tombs, similar, perhaps, to the Chaityas of the Vṛjis[2], Mallas and other Rajput clans, of which we find mention made occasionally in Buddhist literature.[3] It looks as if these royal tombs constituted some sort of national sanctuary for each of those tribes, and we can scarcely go wrong in supposing that the tombs at Lauriya, likewise, attracted annually at festive seasons large gatherings of people from the surrounding villages and towns. It thus becomes evident why Aśoka selected this very site for the promulgation of some of his moral edicts: they could be seen and read there by a great number of people at the regular festive gatherings.[4] A similar tendency may also be observed in regard to other inscriptions of Aśoka. Thus, at the second Lauriya, and at Rūpnāth, near Jubbulpore, in the Central Provinces, we find Aśoka's inscriptions in close proximity to the shrines of two very sacred *liṅgas*, which may have been objects of worship in a time previous to Aśoka. The broken column at Rāmpurvā, again, stood between two earthen mounds, which probably represent the remains of two *stūpas*, although, as far as I know, their recent excavation did not yield any tangible results as to their original meaning. Near Dhauli, in the Puri District of Orissa, we find, at a distance of some 7 or 8 miles, the sacred *Ekāmra-tīrtha*, now represented by the modern town of Bhubanesvar, with its cluster of holy shrines, and a little further to the west is the Khaṇḍagiri Hill, which, as we

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[1] The remains of an ancient river-bed, alluded to above, also point to the connection between the funeral mounds and the Nandangarh; for it separated the *Śmaśāna*, the abode of death, from the city of the living.

[2] Cunningham identifies the Lauriya mounds with the *Chaityas* of the Vṛjis; see *A. S. R., Vol. XXII, p. 40;* but this, of course, is nothing beyond a mere guess.

[3] The origin of *Stūpa*-worship among the Buddhists and Jains appears to be due to this very ancient, popular form of worshipping the tombs of kings or deceased heroes. The Buddhist scriptures are quite explicit about this. According to the Aṅguttara Nikāya, II, 6, 4, a Tathāgata AND A KING are to receive a *Stūpa*:—*Dve'me, bhikkhave, thūpārahā. Katame dve? Tathāgato cha arahaṁ sammā-sambuddho, rājā cha chakkavattī.* The Mahāparinibbāṇa-Sutta adds a Pratyekabuddha and a disciple of the Tathāgata to this list (see Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 44). This shows that the Mahāparinibbāṇa-Sutta was written at a later time, when the Buddhists already had begun worshipping such monuments, as the famous two *Stūpas* erected over the two parts of the body relics of Ānanda, on both sides of the Ganges, thirty *li* to the south-east of the *Śvetapura* Monastery, at some distance from Vaiśālī: see St. Julien, *Mémoires sur les contrées Occidentales par Hiouen Thsang, Vol. I, p. 400;* Beal, *Si-yu-ki, Vol. II, p. 76; Watters, On Yuan Chwang, Vol. II, pp. 71, 80, 159.* The numbers of *Stūpas* built over the remains of Buddhist monks and teachers naturally went on increasing considerably in later times. About the worship of *Stūpas* by the Jainas, see Bühler, *Vienna Oriental Journal, 1890, Vol. IV, p. 328 f.*, and *Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 313.*

[4] I have sometimes found it suggested that the four pillars along the Gaṇḍak, *viz.*, the Bakra pillar (see this Report, 1903-4, p. 83), which— by the way, is only a supposed "Aśoka-pillar," as the inscription on it either has vanished or still remains hidden on the portion below ground—, then the two Lauriya pillars and the Rāmpurvā column, marked the stages of Aśoka's journey from Pāṭaliputra to Nepal, on his visit to the sacred sites of Buddhism. I do not think, after all, that this theory has much to recommend it. We could hardly expect Aśoka to have selected the sits of his camping-grounds during one of his journeys, as places for the promulgation of his moral and religious edicts, for he need not necessarily have camped only close to largely inhabitated and much frequented localities, where he might have been sure of his edicts being seen and read by large multitudes of people.

know from the Hāthigumphā Inscription of Khāravela, contained a flourishing Jain settlement in the year 165 of the Mauryan Era, about one hundred years later than Aśoka's time. There are, besides, scattered remains around the Dhauli rock, which may go back to an old settlement that once existed there, and may, perhaps, be identified with the city of *Tosali*, where the officials resided, to whom Aśoka addressed his first and second "separate edict" of Dhauli.[1]

With all these points in view, it seems indeed very natural to surmise, that the reason why Aśoka placed his pillar at Lauriya, must be searched for in the existence there of the supposed royal tombs, and the festive gatherings which they attracted annually, or, in other words, that THE FUNERAL MOUNDS IN LAURIYA GO BACK TO THE PRE-MAURYAN EPOCH. The ancient citadel, now called *Nandangaṛh*[2], accordingly is likely to date from a period anterior to Mauryan rule in India, and a careful and systematic excavation of this very important site appears to hold out promises of antiquarian discoveries that may carry us back to a state of civilization not very remote from, and intimately connected with, the Vedic Period of India.

T. BLOCH.

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[1] Arch. Survey, Southern India, Vol. I, pp. 125 and 127.

[2] It has been suggested by previous writers on the subject that the name probably contains a reminiscence of the Nandas, the predecessors of the Mauryas. I do not wish to attribute too much importance to this rather hazy assumption, but so far as it implies the general idea that the Nandangaṛh contains the remains of a pre-Mauryan settlement, it is probably not far from the truth. I may mention, in passing, that the modern word *gaṛh* 'a citadel, a fort,' which is so common in local names in India, goes back to a supposed Sanskrit word *GARDHA, the meaning of which must have been 'a fenced off place.' It is probably identical with the Slavonic word for 'town,' of which we find various forms in modern local names, such as *Star-gard*, *Bel-grad*, *Now-gorod*, etc., and it is, perhaps, etymologically related to the Sanskrit word for 'house', *gṛha*. Thus, to the ancient Indian, as to the modern Englishman, "his house was his castle."

THE PLAQUES FOUND AT THE PETLEIK PAGODA, PAGAN.

PET-LEIK-PAYA, or "Pagoda of the curling leaf," is situated at Thîyipyitsayâ (Siripaccayâ or "accumulation of glory"), a small village about seven miles to the south of Nyaung-u, which was once the capital of the Pagan empire. Numerous shrines of different types of architecture are found in its neighbourhood. The brass utensils of Indian manufacture, dug up in its fields, and the striking traces of Indian descent in the features of its people, appear to indicate that prosperous Indian colonies were, at one time, established in the locality.

Pet-leik-paya is so called because of its singularly shaped foliated capital which connects the *śikhara* with the bell-shaped dome. On the band bisecting the dome, and facing the cardinal points, are miniature shrines recalling the form of the Temple at Bodh Gayâ. On the northern face, a hole has been made by treasure-seekers, which has exposed to view terra-cotta tiles of an ancient, but unknown, date. On these Dîpaṅkara is depicted as prophesying that Sumedha and Sumittâ, a flower-girl, would respectively become Prince Siddhattha and his wife, Yasodharâ.

The Pagoda, as it stands, appears to have been added to from time to time. At one or two places, where the brickwork of the basement has broken away mouldings of different patterns and of different periods can be traced beneath; and the width of the corridor on the east is only three feet and three inches as compared with four feet, the width of the corridors on the three remaining faces.

The eastern façade is the most interesting of all. On this side is a rectangular courtyard with a masonry flooring, whose northern, eastern, and southern sides are lined by rows of very low pillars, each one foot six inches in diameter, and standing on a plinth, which is almost flush with the ground-level. These pillars apparently served as rests or sockets for wooden columns which, at one time, supported the roof of a porch or *maṇḍapa*. Near these pillars ashes of wood-work were found, and this fact coupled with the discovery of a lump of vitrified tiles at a spot marked (6) on the Plan (Pl. XLI), seem to show that the superstructure was burnt down, either by accident or through persecution. Further, the approach to the entrance is lined by stone and masonry figures of a deer and dragon, broken pieces of which have been found. At a spot marked (5) on the Plan, was discovered a fragment of an inscription in the Talaing language (Pl. XXXII), which has not yet been translated.

The main interest of the Pagoda, however, lies in the iconographical importance of the terra-cotta plaques, of which 184, in all stages of decay, were found. They are arranged in a double row on the wall surface of an arched corridor or ambulatory passage, which runs around the basement of the building (fig. 1). They are in low relief and illustrate strongly designed and well executed scenes in the *Jâtaka* or Buddhist Birth Stories. Each plaque bears a legend in the Burmese variety of the Pali character, together with a numeral figure indicating the number of each particular story in the *Jâtaka*. It is remarkable that, except in a few instances, the numbering tallies exactly with that of Fausböll's edition of that work.

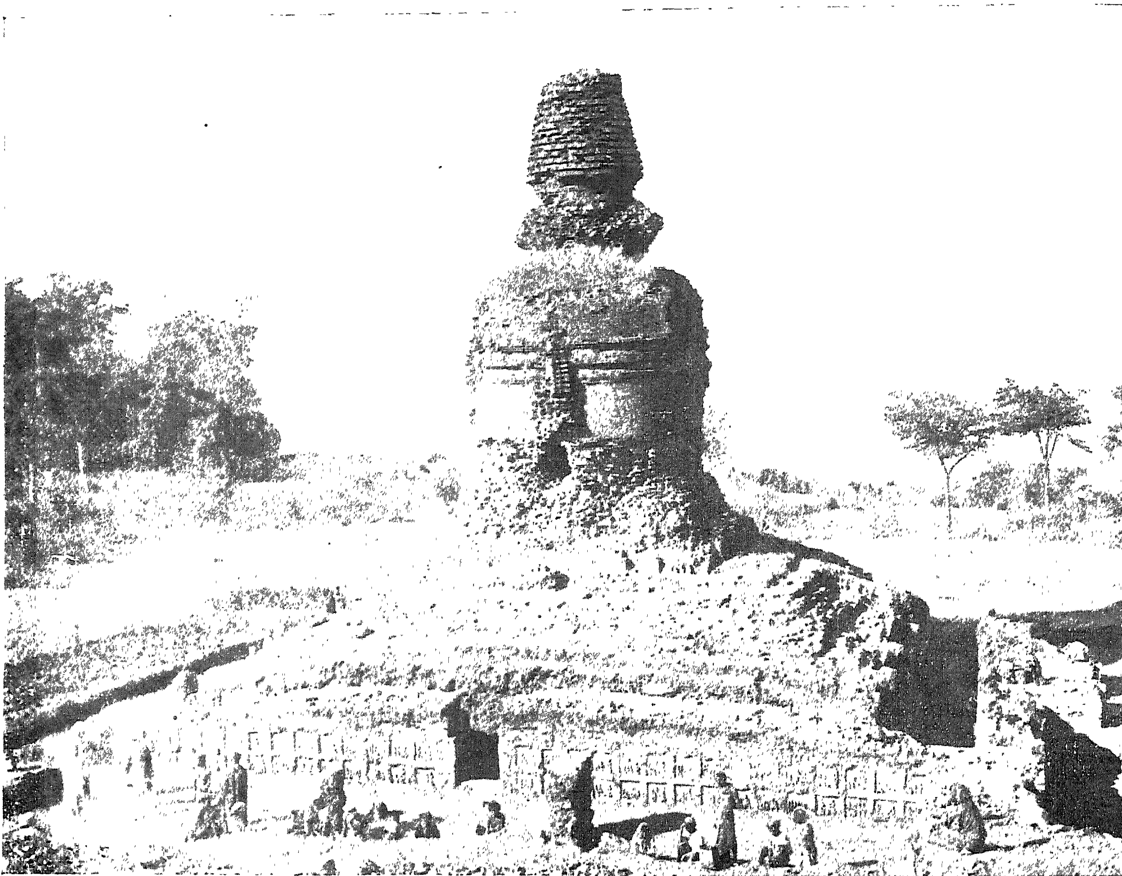


Fig. 1.

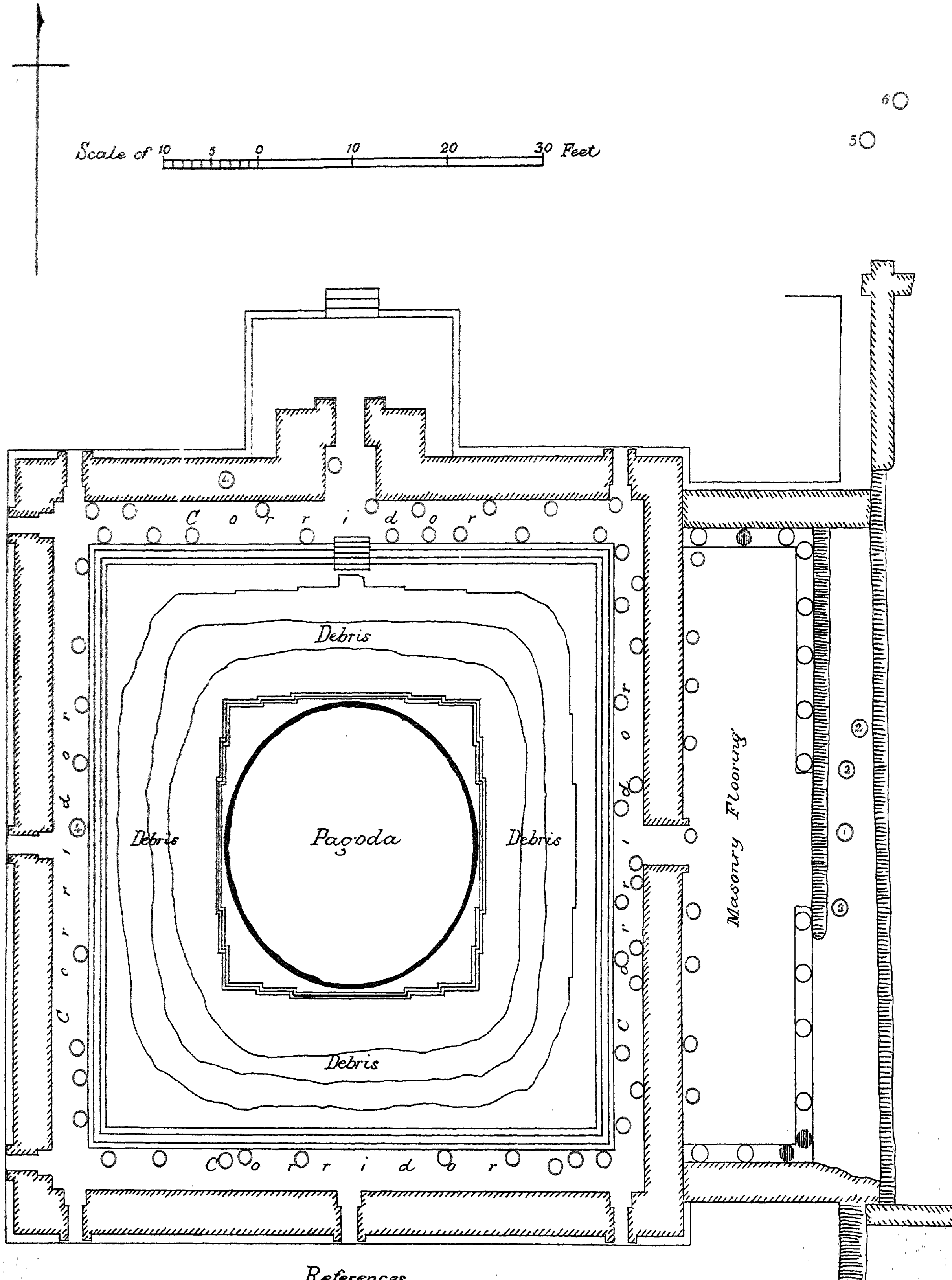
A selection has been made of these plaques, and these are described and illustrated below.

As regards the age of these plaques, they do not appear to be anterior to the eleventh century A.D., when Anawrata conquered the Talaing Kingdom of Thaton.

Devadhamma-Jât.—6.

The Bodhisat, Prince Mahiṁsâsa, sits on a raised seat and preaches on the "god-like character" to a water-sprite, who kneels before him, with his hands clasped together. Close to the latter is Prince Sûriya, the youngest of the three brothers, while Prince Canda, the younger brother, is still in a pool covered with flowering lotuses, the two younger brothers having been imprisoned by the water-sprite for not knowing what is meant by the "god-like character."

PLAQUES FOUND AT THE PETLEIK PAGODA, PAGAN.



References.

O Loose plaques.
1. Figure of deer in stone (headless).
2. Broken pieces of Dragon.
3. Head of Dragon.
4. Broken pieces of plaque.
5. Broken piece of inscription.
6. A lump of vitrified tiles.

PLAN OF PETLEIK PAGODA.

Makhâdeva-Jât.—9.

King Makhâdeva sits on a throne flanked by two white umbrellas, namely, the Kanakadaṇḍa and the Manohara. His barber sits kneeling before him while receiving instructions to report any grey hairs on the head of the king. The latter plucks out a grey hair with his golden tongs from the royal head.

Lakkhaṇa-Jât.—11.

The Bodhisat is reborn as a stag, and is represented by the biggest figure on the plaque. Below him is his elder son, Kâḷa, who returns solitary and alone, having been bereft, through his foolish leadership, of his entire herd of 500 deer. On the left side, the topmost figure is Lakkhaṇa, the younger son, who, through his sagacious guidance, does not lose a single deer of his herd. The 500 deer of his herd are symbolised by five figures.

Ayâcitabhatta-Jât.—19.

The fairy of a banyan tree expounds on the inefficacy of animal-sacrifice offered to him by the squire of a village.

Naḷapâna-Jât.—20.

The central figure represents the ogre of a lake, who has assumed the shape of a horrible monster with a blue belly, a white face, and bright-red hands and feet, and who devours any living creature that comes down into the water. On the right is the Bodhisat, the Monkey-King, who is at the head of a troop of 80,000 monkeys. The monkeys escape from death by sucking the water through canes, which have been hollowed miraculously.

Titthi-Jât.—25.

Brahmadatta, King of Benares, sits on a raised seat, and is informed by the Royal Mentor that the state-charger, led by a groom, refuses to go down into the water for a bath because another horse, a sorry beast, has been washed down at the same bathing-place.

Nandivilâsa-Jât.—28.

The Bodhisat, reborn as the Nandivilâsa bull, wishes to repay his Brahman owner the cost of his up-bringing, and suggests that a wager should be laid with a rich merchant that his bull can draw a hundred loaded carts. The plaque represents Nandivilâsa yoked to a string of a hundred carts and the Brahman driving him.

Vânarinda-Jât.—57.

The Bodhisat is reborn as Vânarinda, a monkey, who lives on the mangoes and bread-fruits that grow on an island in a river. Midway between the river-bank and the island is a rock, which is used as a stepping-stone by the monkey. A crocodile, wishing to eat him, lies in wait for him on the rock. The monkey by means of a

stratagem, asks the crocodile to keep his mouth open, whereby his eyes are kept shut. Now, the monkey jumps on the crocodile's head and regains the river-bank.

Vaṭṭaka-Jât.—118.

A fowler, who catches quails and fattens them for sale, one day, catches the Bodhisat, who is reborn as a quail, and puts him in a cage. The Bodhisat refuses both food and drink, and gets thin. The fowler takes him out of the cage and places him on the palm of his hand to see what ails the bird. When the man is off his guard, the quail flies off to the forest, where he is accosted by other quails as to the reason of his prolonged absence.

Amba-Jât.—124.

The Bodhisat becomes a hermit with an emaciated body and sits on a raised seat. He is attended by two other hermits practising similar austerities. The Bodhisat preaches to them that "One man's goodness has been the means of supplying with food all these 500 hermits. Truly, we should always be steadfast in right-doing." The man referred to is one of the hermits, who, during a great drought, cuts down a tree and hollows it into a trough, which is filled with water for the animals to drink. In order to compensate for such kindness, each animal brings its quota of mangoes, *Jambus* or bread-fruits.

Râjovâda-Jât.—151.

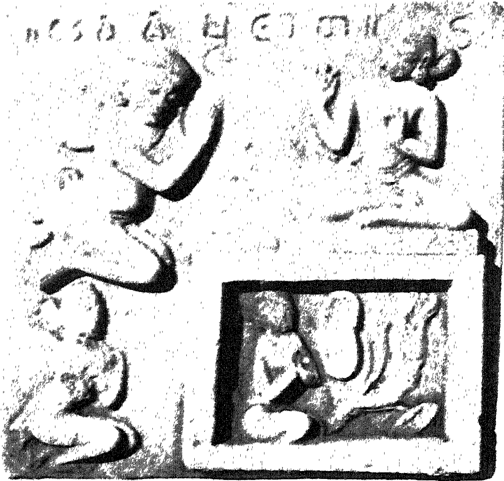
Brahmadatta, King of Benares, and Mallika, King of Kosala, each attended by a charioteer, meet at a place where the carriage-road is so deeply sunk between two banks that there is no room for one carriage to pass another. There is a dispute between the two charioteers regarding the right of way, and it is conceded to the King of Benares, because he conquers wrath with mildness, the bad with goodness, the miser with gifts, and lies with truth.

Somadatta-Jât.—211.

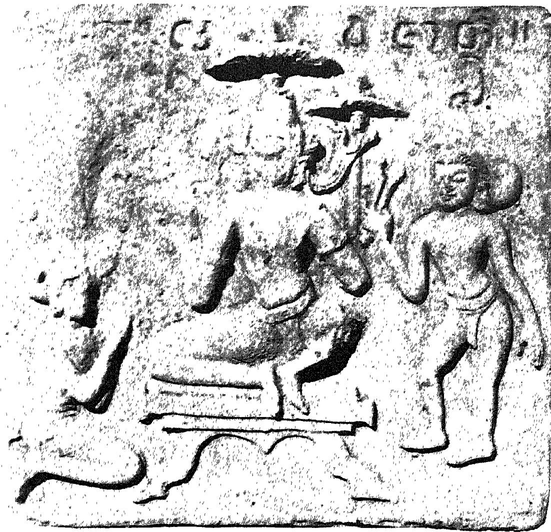
Somadatta's father is a ploughman, who has lost one of his two oxen. His son teaches him what to say when he meets the King and asks him for an ox. It takes the old man a whole year to learn his speech. He is so bashful that when he does meet the King, he presents the latter with his surviving animal instead of asking him for an ox.

Kâmaniggaha-Jât.—228.

The King of Benares is given over to the desire of riches, the lust of the flesh, and the greed of gain. The Bodhisatta, who is reborn as Sakka or King of the gods, wishing to wean him from such lusts, leads him to hope for the conquest of Pañcala, Kuru and Kekaka. Frustrated in such hope, he sickens, and no mortal doctor can cure him. Sakka assumes the guise of a physician and exhorts the King that "one ought not to be mastered by desire, as desire is the root of all evil." Three attendants in a kneeling attitude have a sardonic smile on their faces, and represent the three threatened States.



DEVADHAMMA-JÂT - 6



MAKHÂDEVA-JÂT - 9



LAKKHAṆA-JÂT - 11



ÂYÂCITABHATTA-JÂT - 19



NALAPÂNA-JÂT - 20



TITTHI-JÂT - 25

PLAQUES FOUND AT THE PETLEIK PAGODA, PAGAN.



NANDIVISÂLA-JÂT - 28



VÂNARINDA-JÂT - 57



VAṬṬAKA-JÂT - 118



AMBA-JÂT - 124



RÂJOVÂDA-JÂT - 151



SOMADATTA-JÂT - 211

Dutiya-Palâyi-Jât.—230.

Benares is attacked by the King of Gandhâra. The King of Benares, sitting on a canopied throne, discloses his glorious countenance, and addresses his enemy: "Now will I destroy your host, as a maddened elephant crushes a thicket of reeds."

Tila-mutthi-Jât.—252.

Brahmadatta, King of Benares, received his education under a Brahman of Takkasilâ, and was beaten with a bamboo stick by two of his school-fellows, under the orders of his Teacher, for stealing, on three successive days, a handful of sessamum belonging to an old woman. On attaining to sovereignty, he sends for his Teacher and threatens him with death for his past castigation.

Maṇi-Kaṇṭha-Jât.—253.

Two Brahman brothers become anchorites on the banks of the Ganges, and the younger is frequently visited by Maṇi-Kaṇṭha or Jewel-Throat, a Serpent-King, who embraces his friend in his snaky folds.

Kuṇḍaka-Sindhava-Jât.—254.

An old woman owns a thoroughbred foal, which is sold to the Bodhisat, who is reborn as a horse-dealer, and who re-sells it to Brahmadatta, King of Benares. The Bodhisat claps his hands, and holds out one palm upwards, and the foal gets upon it, and stands on his master's hand with his four feet close together.

Sâlûka-Jât.—286.

In Benares, the Bodhisat becomes an ox named Big Redcoat and he has a younger brother called Little Redcoat.

One day, Little Redcoat says to his brother, "Brother, we work for this family, and we help them to get their living. Yet they only give us grass and straw, while they feed yon pig with rice porridge, and let it sleep in a sty; and what can it do for them?"

"Brother," says Big Redcoat, "don't covet his porridge. They want to make a feast of him on our young lady's wedding-day; that's why they are fattening him up. Wait a few days, and you'll see him dragged out of his sty, killed, chopped into bits, and eaten up by the visitors."

Nânâ-Chanda-Jât.—289.

Brahmadatta, King of Benares, rewards a Brahman for his correct observations of the constellations. The Brahman's wife, son, daughter-in-law and maid-servant are likewise rewarded.

Supatta-Jât.—292.

Supatta or Fairwing, a Crow-King, attended by his Chief Captain, Sumukha or Pretty beak, preaches to Brahmadatta, King of Benares, who is attended by his four queens.

Kâya-Chinda-Jât.—293.

A Brahman is afflicted with the jaundice. In consultation with his wife, he resolves that, if he ever gets well, he will embrace the religious life. He does get well and goes away to the Himâlayas, where he dwells in the enjoyment of ecstatic happiness.

Kâma-Tappatu-Jât.—297.

A poor man is prevailed upon by his wife to steal the safflowers of the King, with which she wants to dye her clothes. He is caught red-handed, and is impaled under the supervision of an executioner. Crows fly down to peck at his head and face. His dying thoughts are of his wife, and he is full of regret that she should have been deprived of the pleasure of wearing dyed garments.

Komâya-Putta-Jât.—299.

Komâya-putta, attended by two other anchorites, admonishes a monkey, who used to afford endless amusement to another fraternity of hermits by his grimaces and antics.

Tittira-Jât.—306 (319).

While a fowler is asleep with his snares and freshly-caught birds by his side, his decoy partridge questions a hermit whether its occupation is sinful. The reply is that the absence of intention in a state of coercion is absolutely sinless.

Mata-Rodana-Jât.—317.

On the death of his elder brother, the Bodhisat does not weep. His kinsfolk reprove him for his seeming hard-heartedness. His reply is that all things are transient and that all creatures are subject to the Eight Wordly Conditions.

Sucacca-Jât.—320.

A King of Benares neglects his Chief Queen, who has shared his exile while he was yet a Prince. The Queen complains to the Bodhisat, who reconciles husband and wife.

Daddabhâya-Jât.—322 (a), (b).

A hare lives beneath a palm sapling, at the foot of a vilva tree. A ripe vilva fruit falls on a palm-leaf, causing the hare to imagine that the earth is collapsing and to run for its life. The infection of imaginary fear spreads and there is a general stampede of all the animals in the forest. The Bodhisat, who comes to life as a lion,

PLAQUES FOUND AT THE PETLEIK PAGODA, PAGAN.



KÂMANIGGAHA-JÂT -- 228



DUTIYA-PALÂYI-JÂT -- 230



TILA-MUṬṬHI-JÂT -- 252



MAṆI-KAṆṬHA-JÂT -- 253



KUṆḌAKA-SINDHANA-JÂT -- 254



SÂLÛKA-JÂT -- 286

PLAQUES FOUND AT THE PETLEIK PAGODA, PAGAN.



NÂNÂ-CHANDA-JÂT - 289



SUPATTA-JÂT - 292



KÂYA-CHINDA-JÂT - 293



KÂMA-TAPPATU-JÂT - 297



KOMÂYA-PUTTA-JÂT - 299



TITTIRA-JÂT - 309 (319)

reassures the panic-stricken creatures, and saves them from imminent destruction by finding out the origin of their fear, and by explaining to them its true cause.

Godha-Jât.—325.

The Bodhisat becomes a lizard, and pays frequent visits to a false ascetic. The latter wishes to catch the lizard and eat its flesh; but his would-be victim runs away and escapes from death.

Viseyha-Jât.—340.

Viseyha, a great merchant of Benares, is liberal and fond of alms-giving, thereby incurring the jealousy of Sakka, who suspects that the former has ulterior designs on his position. Sakka, by his supernatural power, deprives Viseyha and his wife of all means of alms-giving and reduces them to abject poverty. The husband becomes a grass-cutter to obtain money for the purpose of giving alms, and falls into a swoon on account of his unwonted labour. Sakka appears on the scene and enquires why he gives alms. He replies: "Desiring neither Sakkahood nor Brahmaship, but seeking omniscience do I give."

Ayakûta-Jât.—347.

Brahmadatta, King of Benares, interdicts animal-sacrifice to the gods, who commission a savage Yakkha to slay the King. He comes armed with a huge blazing mass of iron, but his murderous intent is checked by Sakka, who appears most opportunely.

Arñña-Jât.—348.

A Brahman of Banares and his son embrace the religious life and dwell in the Himâlayas. A border village is harried by brigands, and a damsel flies for refuge to their hermitage, and, by her seductions, corrupts the virtue of the youth, while the father is absent gathering fruit. The father, by his admonitions, succeeds in reestablishing his son in purity and virtue.

Uraga-Jât.—354.

The household of a Brahman cultivator consists of six persons: the Brahman, his wife, son, daughter, daughter-in-law, and a female slave. The son is bitten by a snake and dies. There is no lamentation in the family, and Sakka comes and questions each member about the cause. The reply given is that, when a man dies, he shuffles off his mortal coil as a snake casts off its slough, and that grief and lamentation are of no avail.

Ahiguṇḍiqa-Jât.—365.

The Bodhisat becomes a corn merchant at Benares. To him is entrusted a monkey for six days by a snake-charmer. On the seventh day, the owner returns and the animal is restored to him. The monkey is beaten by the snake-charmer three times with a piece of bamboo, and, while the latter is asleep, escapes to the top of a mango-tree and secures its freedom from bondage.

Gaṅgamâla-Jât.—421.

King Udaya shares his kingdom with a water-carrier, who is known as King Aḍḍhamâsaka, because he persists in his claim to a half-penny, which he has saved and hidden in a brick in the City wall. Over each King is a white umbrella, and he is attended by his Chief Queen.

Catu-dvâra-Jât.—439.

Mittavindaka, a merchant of Benares, is disobedient to his mother, and does not practise virtue or charity. In the course of his adventures at sea, he unwittingly reaches Ussada Hell, and espies a man in torment, supporting, on his head, a wheel as sharp as a razor. Mistaking the instrument of torture for a lotus bloom, he asks for it, and it is transferred to his head. The Bodhisat appears and preaches the law to him.

Kaṇha-dîpâyana-Jât.—444.

Kaṇha-dîpâyana, a hermit, is visited by Maṇḍavya, a merchant, his wife and son. The son, while playing, is bitten by a snake and dies. The dead child is restored to life by the combined *saccakiriya* (Act of Truth) of his parents and the hermit.

Nigrodha-Jât.—445.

Three students, Nigrodha, (Banyan), Sâkha (Branch), and Pottika (Dollie), study at Takkasîla. On the completion of their education, they travel abroad. In the course of their peregrinations, they sleep under a tree growing within the sacred precincts of a temple. On that tree roosts a cock, which crows, at dawn, as follows:

"If any one kills me and eats of my fat, he will become a King this very morning; he that eats the middle flesh, becomes Commander-in-Chief; who eats the flesh about the bones, he will be Treasurer." Pottika climbs up the tree, seizes the cock, kills it, and cooks it in the embers; the fat he gives to Banyan, the middle flesh to Branch, and himself eats the flesh that is about the bones. The prognostications of the cock are entirely fulfilled.

Udaya-Jât.—458.

The Bodhisat becomes King of Kâsi. Having both passed out of Brahma's world, he and his Queen have an absolute control over their senses, and they live together in chastity. The King dies and is reborn as Sakka. In order to test the virtue of the widowed Queen, he visits her at night, and tempts her, on three successive occasions, with an offering of a golden, silver, and iron bowl filled with coins. His efforts being unsuccessful, he reveals his identity.

Mittâmitta-Jât.—473.

The Bodhisat comes to life as a courtier, who advises Bramadatta, King of Benares, on matters spiritual and temporal. At the request of the King, he discourses on the sixteen tokens of a friend or foe.

PLAQUES FOUND AT THE PETLEIK PAGODA, PAGAN.



MATA-RODANA-JÂT - 317



SUCACCA-JÂT - 320



DADDABHÂYA-JÂT - 322 (*a*)



DADDABHÂYA-JÂT - 322 (*b*)



GODHA-JÂT - 325



VISEYHA-JÂT - 340

PLAQUES FOUND AT THE PETLEIK PAGODA, PAGAN.



AYAKÛṬA-JÂT - 347



ARAÑÑA-JÂT - 348



URAGA-JÂT - 354



AHIGUṆḌIKA-JÂT - 365



GANGAMÂLA-JÂT - 421



CATU-DVÂRA-JÂT - 439

Kâliṅga-Jât.—479.

The King of Kâliṅga is a universal Monarch and is possessed of the Wheel of Empire and a White Elephant. Riding on this elephant, and in great pomp and splendour, he visits his parents, who are living, as exiles, in a forest. The elephant is unable to pass beyond the circuit around the great Bo-Tree, the throne of victory of all the Buddhas.

Sâdhina-Jât.—494.

The virtues of Sâdhina, King of Mithilâ, are noised abroad and the angels of the *Tâvatiṁsa* heaven are anxious to see him. Sakka sends forth Mâtali in a celestial chariot to bring him. *Tâvatiṁsa* or the abode of the "Thirty-three" is represented by three *devas.*

Dasa-brâhmaṇa-Jât.—495.

Koravya, King of Kuru, attended by his two Queens, addresses Vidhûra, his wise Counsellor, expressing his dissatisfaction with the character of the Brahman recipients of his alms, and requiring him to search for holy men. Accordingly, five hundred Pacceka Buddhas are invited from the Northern Himâlaya.

Bhikkhu-Parampara-Jât.—496.

Brahmadatta, King of Benares, in the course of his peregrinations in disguise, receives an offering of food from a rich land-owner, and passes it on to his Brahman Counsellor (lower row of figures). The Brahman passes it on to an ascetic, who offers it to a Pacceka Buddha (upper row of figures). This story illustrates the different degrees of worth or sanctity, which entitles a person to receive gifts from others.

Sumedha-paṇḍita-Jât.—499 (?)

Sumedha consults his treasurer and accountants before he gives away the whole of his property in alms.

Mâtaṅga-Jât.—500 (497).

Mâtaṅga, a Caṇḍâla, is married to Diṭṭha-maṅgalikâ, daughter of a merchant of Benares. The issue of the union is a son called Maṇḍavya, who gives alms to the Brahmans. Mâtaṅga renounces the world by becoming an ascetic. One day, at a great almsgiving, he is beaten under the orders of his son, and the deities of the city, in order to avenge such injustice, make Maṇḍavya and the Brahmans unconscious. Diṭṭha-maṅgalikâ, attended by a slave-girl, intercedes with Mâtaṅga on their behalf. With the elixir of immortality given by him, she restores her son and all the Brahmans o consciousness.

Sivi-râja-Jât.—502 (499).

King Sivi, not content with giving away his property in alms, resolves to give away any part of his own body. Sakka, divining his wish, appears before him in the

guise of an old and blind Brahman, and asks for an eye. The King summons his surgeon, and, after undergoing an operation, offers both his eyes to the Brahman amidst the remonstrance of his minister and queens.

Kim-chanda-Jât.—514 (511).

Brahmadatta, King of Benares, turns an ascetic and lives on the banks of the Ganges. He is supplied with mangoes by a spirit, who was his chaplain and judge.

Kumbha-Jât.—515-(512).

Sabbamitta, King of Sâvatthi, orders a jar of intoxicating liquor to be brought for him to drink. Sakka appears in the air holding a jar of liquor and discourses on the evils of strong drink, thereby saving the King from the imminent danger of acquiring a bad habit.

Chaddanta-Jât.—517 (514).

Chaddanta, an Elephant-King, has two wives, Mahâsubhaddâ and Cûḷasubhaddâ. The latter conceives a grudge against her husband because of his partiality to her rival. She dies and becomes Queen of Benares. She sends forth Sonuttara, a hunter, to bring her the tusks of Chaddanta. It being summer-time, the Elephant-King lives under a great banyan-tree. The hunter digs a hole under the tree and shoots the elephant with an arrow, which, entering at the navel, comes out at the back. The elephant dies, and the Queen also dies of a broken heart at the sight of the tusks presented to her.

Sambhava-Jât.—518 (515).

Sucîrata, Counsellor of the King of Kuru, is asked by his master to explain the nature of the Service of Truth. He confesses his inability to solve the question, and procures its solution from Sambhava, the seven-year-old son of Vidhûra, Chaplain of the King of Benares.

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PLAQUES FOUND AT THE PETLEIK PAGODA, PAGAN.



KAṆHADÎPÂYANA-JÂT - 444



NIGRODHA-JÂT - 445



UDAYA-JÂT - 458



MITTÂMITTA-JÂT - 473



KÂLINGA-JÂT - 479



SÂDHINA-JÂT - 494



DASA-BRÂHMAṆA-JÂT - 495



BHIKKHU-PARAMPARA-JÂT - 496



SUMEDHA-PAṆḌITA-JÂT - 499 (?)



MÂTANGA-JÂT - 500 (497)



SIVI-RÂJA-JÂT - 502 (499)



KIM-CHANDA-JÂT-514 (511)



KUMBHA-JÂT - 515 (512)



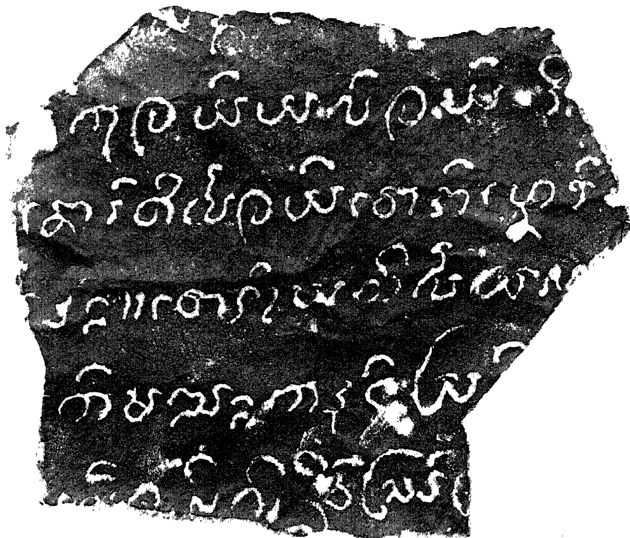
CHADDANTA-JÂT - 517 (514)



SAMBHAVA-JÂT - 518 (515)



PLAQUE REPRESENTING DÎPAṄKARA GRANTING A BOON TO SUMEDHA AND SUMITTÂ, A FLOWER-GIRL.



AN INSCRIPTION IN THE TALAING LANGUAGE.

THE MATHURĀ SCHOOL OF SCULPTURE.

THE first recorded discovery of sculpture at Mathurā (*vulgo* Muttra) is that of the so-called Silenus obtained by Colonel Stacy in 1836 and now preserved in the Calcutta Museum[1].

In 1853 regular explorations were started by General Cunningham[2] on the Katrā and continued in 1862. They yielded numerous sculptural remains; most important among them is an inscribed standing Buddha image (height 3′ 6″), now in the Lucknow Museum. From the inscription[3] it appears that this image was presented to the Yaśā-vihāra in the Gupta year 230 (A.D. 549-50). We may conclude that the Katrā site was once occupied by a Buddhist monastery of that name. On the ruins of that building there rose in afterdays a Hindū temple dedicated to Vishṇu under the name of Kēsab Dēv or Kēsō Rāi, which is mentioned by Bernier, Tavernier, and Manucci, but in its turn had to make place for a mosque built by Aurangzeb.

In 1860, when the foundations were laid for a Collector's Court house, 1¼ miles south-east of the Katrā, this locality proved to be another important Buddhist site. It is referred to by Cunningham as the Jail mound, whereas Growse calls it the Jamālpur mound, after a hamlet situated in its proximity. Here thirty bases of pillars came to light, half of which are inscribed with dedicatory inscriptions[4]. Ten of them (eight inscribed) were sent to Calcutta, where they are now preserved in the Indian Museum. These bases presumably belonged to a colonnade enclosing the inner courtyard of a Buddhist monastery, which, according to the inscriptions, was built in the year 47 of Kanishka's era and during the reign of his son Huvishka. From the wording of one of the inscriptions it appears that this prince himself was its founder. That this monastery still existed in the fifth century may be inferred from an inscription dated Gupta 135 (A.D. 454-5) and from an inscribed standing Buddha image[5]

[1] L. R. Stacy—J. Prinsep, *Note on the discovery of a relic of Grecian sculpture in Upper India.* J. A. S. B., Vol. V (1836), pp. 567 ff. (Plate). J. Anderson, *Catalogue of the archæological collections in the Indian Museum* (Calcutta, 1883), Part I, pp. 169 ff (Cat. No. M. 1.) J. Burgess, *Ancient Monuments,* Plates 60-61.

[2] Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, Vol. I, pp. 231 ff. Plates XXXIX-XL and Vol. III, pp. 13 ff. Plates I-XVI. Growse. *Mathurā, a district memoir*, 3rd edition, Allahabad, 1883; pp. 103 ff.

[3] Fleet. *Gupta Inscriptions,* pp. 25 ff, No. 4.

[4] *Cf.* Dowson, *Ancient inscriptions from Mathurā.* J. R. A. S., Vol. V, N. S. (1871), pp. 182 ff. Nos. 1, 2, 5, 10-17, 21-23, and 27. B. L. Mitra, *Notes on Sanskrit inscriptions from Mathurā,* J. A. S. B., Vol. XXXIX (1870), Part I, pp. 117 ff, Nos. 1-10 and 17-20. The Mathurā Museum contains now thirty-four pillar bases of which eighteen are inscribed. One, likewise inscribed, is in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow.

[5] *Cf.* Fleet, *Gupta Inscr.*, pp. 262 ff, No. 63; Plate XXXIX A and Growse, *op. cit.*, pp. 115, and Plate facing page 172.

(height 7′ 2″) both found on the same site and preserved in the Mathurā Museum. They were discovered shortly after 1860, when the Jamālpur mound was completely levelled under the supervision of Mr. Hardinge, the magistrate of the district. The same officer trenched the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, a mound ¼ mile south of the Katrā, in which some sculptures had been found by men digging for bricks.

In 1869, Mathurā was visited by Bhagvānlāl Indrajī, who on this occasion made two important discoveries. The first was that of a life-size female statue, which he excavated at the Saptarshi Ṭīlā on the right river bank, south of the city. It was first deposited in the Delhi Museum, but in October 1907 it was made over to the Lahore Museum together with all other Gandhāra sculptures in the Delhi collection. The remarkable point about this image is that both its style and material prove it to be a Gandhāra sculpture, a circumstance of great interest for the history of Buddhist art. Apparently not far from the mound which yielded this image, Dr. Bhagvānlāl discovered the famous lion capital with its eighteen Kharōshṭhī inscriptions which throw so much light on the history of the Northern satraps who ruled in Mathurā before the time of the Skythians. It is now in the British Museum[1].

In November 1871, Cunningham resumed the excavation of the Kaṅkālī mound, which proved more prolific in sculptural remains than any other of the Mathurā sites. He obtained many Jaina images, partly inscribed, as well as portions of railings. The twelve inscriptions discovered by him range in date from the year 5 of Kanishka's reign to the year 98 in that of Vāsudeva. To these may be added an inscription of the year 39 in Huvishka's reign inscribed on an elephant capital, the present whereabouts of which are unknown.

Between the Katrā and the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā there rises a high mound, named after the temple of Bhūtēsar (Skr. Bhūtēśvara), at the back of which it is situated. On the top of this mound there stood once a large railing pillar carved with the figure of a female parasol-bearer over which is a curious bas-relief apparently referring to some *jataka*. It is now in the Mathurā Museum (Cat. No. J 1).

In the verandah of a native rest-house near this site Cunningham discovered five railing-pillars[2] (height 4′ 4″). On the obverse of each there is a female figure standing on a prostrate dwarf; above is shown a balcony over which a pair of figures in amorous attitudes are partly visible. The obverse of each pillar is carved with three reliefs representing *jātakas* and perhaps, also, events of Buddha's life. These five pillars and one previously obtained by Colonel Stacy must have belonged to the same railing. Cunningham speaks of two more broken pillars of this railing which he saw in the Museum at Agra and now appear to be at Lucknow. It is much to be regretted that at present they are distributed over different museums. Three, including the one of Colonel Stacy, are in the Calcutta Museum, two have remained at Mathurā, and one has reached the Provincial Museum of Lucknow.

About this same time Cunningham explored some of the Chaubārā mounds situated 3 miles south-west of the Katrā, in one of which a golden relic casket and

[1] *Cf.* Bühler, *Mathurā Lion-Pillar Inscriptions*; B. Indrajī, *The Northern Kshatrapas*, J. R. A. S. for 1894, pp. 525-554, and F. W. Thomas, *The Inscriptions on the Mathurā Lion Capital*, Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 135 ff.

[2] Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. III, pp. 20 ff. Plates VI and VII. Anderson, *Catalogue*, Part I, pp. 186 ff. (M. 15 a, b, c). Grünwedel-Burgess, *Buddhist Art in India* (London, 1901), p. 41, footnote 1. Burgess, *Ancient Monuments*, Plates 58 and 59.

copper celt had been found in 1868 or 1869. His excavations yielded another relic casket of steatite, now in the Calcutta Museum, and some sculptures, among which was a remarkable Indo-Persepolitan capital (3′ × 2′ × 2′) likewise preserved at Calcutta[1]. Subsequent exploration of these mounds by Mr. Growse led to the discovery of numerous other sculptural remains, which were placed in the Mathurā Museum.

During the period of his collectorate Mr. Growse examined most of the ancient sites round Mathurā and acquired an important collection of sculptures which he deposited in the local museum established on his initiative a few years after 1874[2]. Perhaps the most interesting of this collection is the so-called Bacchanalian group, which Growse obtained in 1873-74 from a mound outside the village of Pālī Khēṛā. It is a counterpart of Colonel Stacy's Silenus and there is reason to suppose that this sculpture originates from the same site[3].

In 1881-82, when Cunningham revisited Mathurā in order to inspect the newly established Museum, he discovered another sculpture no less remarkable for the classical influence it betrays. Its subject is Herakles strangling the Nemaean lion; or, it would perhaps be more correct to say, it appears to be an Indian adaptation of this subject. It was presented to the Calcutta Museum[4].

Of other finds I need only mention a railing (?) pillar with a dedicatory inscription in Brāhmī of the Maurya period. It was found on the Arjunpura mound to the north-west of the Sītalā Ghāṭī site, and is of interest, as only one other Maurya inscription has hitherto been found at Mathura[5]. To these is to be added the Parkham image now in the Mathurā Museum.

The last archæological explorations at Mathurā were carried out by Dr. Führer between the years 1887 and 1896. His chief work was the excavation of the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, in the three seasons of 1888-91. He explored also the Kaṭrā site. Unfortunately no account of his researches is available, except the meagre information contained in his Museum Reports for those years. The inscriptions and some of the most remarkable sculptures obtained by him were fully discussed by Professor Bühler. Subsequently Mr. V. A. Smith published a series of 108 plates which had been prepared under Dr. Führer's supervision. These plates, of which only a few are reproductions of photographs and the rest of drawings, illustrate the sculptures acquired in the course of Dr. Führer's excavations, but do not throw much light on the explorations themselves. The editor has added brief explanatory notes and reproduced Professor Bühler's readings of the inscriptions[6].

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[1] Anderson, *Catalogue*, Part I, p. 186 (M. 14) and Part II, p. 483. Burgess, *Ancient Monuments*, Plate 55.

[2] Growse, *op. cit.* pp. 163 ff, and *Mathurā inscriptions*, Indian Antiquary, Vol. VI (1877), pp. 216 ff.

[3] Growse, *op. cit.*, pp. 124 and 166 ff. (with two plates) and *Supposed Greek sculpture at Mathurā*, J. A. S. B., Vol. XLIV (1875), pp. 212 ff. (with three plates).

[4] Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 107 ff. Plates XXX and XXXI. Anderson, *Catalogue*, Part I, pp. 19 ff. (M. 17).

[5] Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XX, pp. 30 ff. Plates II-V. The original is apparently lost. The other Maurya inscription is in the Lucknow Museum.

[6] Führer, *Indo-scythic architecture and sculpture of the Mathurā school*, J. I. A. I., Vol. V, p. 58. G. Bühler, *New Jaina inscriptions from Mathurā*. Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 371 ff. *Further Jaina inscriptions from Mathurā*, Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 393 ff. and Vol. II. pp. 195 ff. *Specimens of Jaina sculptures from Mathurā*, Ep. Ind., Vol. II, pp. 311 ff. *Cf.* also H. Lüders, *Epigraphical Notes*, Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXIII (1904). Vincent A. Smith, *The Jain Stūpa and other antiquities of Mathurā*. Allahabad, 1901. *Cf.* A. F[oucher], *B.E.F.E.O.* Tome I, p. 375.

Fertile though the Mathurā explorations have been, it is to be deplored that they were not carried out on more systematic lines. Nearly every mound in the neighbourhood was examined, but hardly any of them, except the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, was completely explored. It was a primary mistake that such excessive importance was attached to inscriptions, especially dated ones, that the architectural interest was wholly neglected. There can be little doubt that, in the course of those excavations, remains of buildings were found, and that in some cases architectural members were found *in situ*. It is true that with regard to the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā Growse tells us "that no definite line of foundation has ever been brought to light nor any larger remains of plain masonry superstructure; but only a confused medley of broken statues without even the pedestals on which they must have been originally erected." But Cunningham distinctly states that, in excavating the west end of this mound, he came on brick walls and pavements.[1] Dr. Führer speaks of two Jain temples discovered in the course of his excavations, but the general plan published by Mr. Smith does not show the position of these buildings. On the Chaubārā site Growse notices a pavement with three pedestals, two of which were still erect, and in the Pālī Khēṛā mound three bell-shaped bases of large columns were found by him *in situ*. From Cunningham's account it would appear that the railing pillars obtained from the Jamālpur (or Jail) mound were, partly at least, standing *in situ*, and the same may be assumed with regard to the thirty bases of pillars discovered on that site on the same occasion.

The number of Mathurā sculptures now available is very considerable; but, in the absence of plans, no information is forthcoming regarding the buildings to which they belonged. What is worse, in most cases it is impossible to decide from what particular mound the individual sculptures originate, as only in the case of inscriptions it was considered essential to note the exact find-place.

The attempts made by Cunningham and Growse to identify some of the Mathurā sites with localities mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang have signally failed. Both assumed that the Kaṭrā marks the centre of the ancient city, whereas the site of ancient Mathurā is clearly indicated by an extensive elevation of the soil to the south-west of the town. Hence their identifications, based on a wrong location of the city, are inadmissible, and both the Upagupta monastery and the monkey tank are still to be discovered. In order to uphold his theories, Cunningham had to alter the wording of the Chinese pilgrim's account and to read "west" instead of "east" and "built of stone" for "cut in the rock." He proposes to identify Kēsōpura, the quarter in which the Kaṭrā is situated, with "the Klisobora or Kaisobora of Arrian and the Clisobora of Pliny."[2] It is, however, evident that the Mahalla Kēṣōpura was named after the shrine of Kēsō or Kēsab (Skr. Kēśava) Dēv. This temple stood, as we noticed above, on the ruins of a Buddhist monastery which still existed in the middle of the sixth century. It is therefore highly improbable that the name Kēsōpura goes back to the days of Arrian.

All we can deduce with certainty from past explorations is the following. The Kaṭrā must have been the site of a Buddhist monastery named the Yaśā-vihāra which was still extant in the middle of the sixth century. It would seem that in the

[1] Growse, *op. cit.*, p. 118. Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. III, p. 20.
[2] *A. S. R.*, Vol. XX, p. 31.

immediate vicinity there existed a *stūpa* to which the Bhūtēsar railing pillars belong. Dr. Führer mentions indeed in one of his reports that, in digging at the back of Aurangzeb's mosque, he struck the procession path of a *stūpa* bearing a dedicatory inscription. The Kaṅkāli Ṭīlā contained a Jain *stūpa* named "Vodva thūpa" and apparently of considerable age, as at the time of Huvishka's reign its origin was ascribed to the gods.[1] Dr. Führer speaks, moreover, of two Jain temples found in his excavation of this mound. Evidently there flourished a Jain establishment here down to the Muhammadan period. But some sculptures said to have been found in or near the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā are Buddhist.

The Chaubārā mounds represent a group of Buddhist *stūpas*, as is proved by the discovery of two relic caskets and railing-pillars. One of these pillars, preserved in the Mathurā Museum, bears an undated inscription in Brāhmī of the early Kushaṇa type. The three pedestals found by Growse near one of the Chaubārā mounds may have belonged to a temple.

On the Jamālpur site there once stood a Buddhist monastery founded by Huvishka in the year 47 of Kanishka's era and, no doubt, connected with a *stūpa* as we may infer from the discovery of railing-pillars on this site. This Buddhist establishment also must have been still in a flourishing condition in the middle of the fifth century as appears from the two inscribed Buddha images, one dated Gupta 135 and the other undated, which were found here.

The Arjunpura mound seems to contain the remains of a monument (*stūpa* ?) of the Maurya period. Jaina sculptures have been found on the site of the old fort (Sītalā Ghāṭī) and in Rānī-kī-maṇḍī. Buddhist buildings are still to be discovered in the Dhruv and Saptarshi mounds.

Though more systematic exploration of ancient Mathurā and its monuments would, no doubt, have yielded more definite results, it would be unfair not to recognise the great service rendered to science by former explorers in procuring and preserving so vast an amount of archæological material. It would be equally unjust to blame them for the injudicious disposal of the sculptures which are now distributed over the Calcutta, Lucknow, and Mathurā Museums. Above I have quoted an instance of six pillars of the same railing which are placed in three different museums. It is possible that not only members of the same monument but fragments of the same sculpture have thus become separated.

The bulk of the sculptures first discovered at the Kaṭrā, on the Jamālpur mound and in the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā were sent to Agra and placed in the Riddell Museum which then existed at that place. In or shortly before 1875 this institution was broken up and the greater part of its contents removed to Allahabad. Some sixty pieces, including ten Mathurā sculptures, remained at Agra and were kept in the museum of a local archæological society, established in the Dīwān-i-'ām of the Fort.[2]

When, on the 1st July 1884, the reconstituted provincial museum at Lucknow was opened, most of the sculptures which had gone to Allahabad were removed to that institution, but some hundred stone sculptures and some twenty terra-cottas were left behind. Among these the sculptures originating from Mathurā have now

[1] Bühler, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 204, No. XX, p. 31. V. A. Smith, *The Jain Stūpa*, p. 12, Plate VI.
[2] Cf. *Transactions of the Archæological Society of Agra* (July to December 1875), Agra, 1876, pp. 30 ff.

been returned and added to the local collection. It seems that the sculptures which had remained at Agra, likewise reached the Lucknow Museum. The numerous pieces excavated by Dr. Führer from the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā were all sent to Lucknow which now possesses the most extensive collection of Mathurā sculptures. Unfortunately the archæological section of the Lucknow Museum is badly located and no catalogue is available of the exhibits.[1] It is, however, under consideration to remove the Museum to a more suitable building.

The Indian Museum at Calcutta contains twenty-eight sculptures originating from Mathurā, which include the so-called Silenus and Herakles strangling the Nemaean lion. They are well described in Anderson's catalogue.

The sculptures which were collected by Mr. Growse from various sites round Mathurā are nearly all preserved in the local museum founded at that place at his instance. It was meant by its originator to be a depository of any antiquities "which, without any definite search being made, were bound to crop up and otherwise in danger of being lost." The building, originally intended for a rest-house, is well suited for its present purpose, but does not admit of any considerable extension of the exhibits. A catalogue of the collection will shortly be published.

The Mathurā sculptures which Cunningham had placed in the Lahore Museum have, at my request, been returned to the place of their origin and have been added to the local collection. This is also the case with three inscribed Jaina sculptures which I noticed in the Municipal Museum at Delhi. The Lahore Museum contains moreover two fragmentary inscriptions from Mathurā which will be returned to the place of their origin.

If in future the archæological explorations are resumed at Mathurā, it is to be hoped that the local museum will be extended so as to contain any sculptures or other antiquities to be discovered. If once a suitable building is available on the spot, it will be possible to restore to Mathurā many sculptures which in the past have become scattered over different museums, greatly to the benefit of the study of this important branch of Indian art.

The vast amount of sculptural remains discovered at Mathurā would suffice to show the importance of this place in the history of Indian art. It is remarkable that the only statue which, on the strength of its inscription, can be assigned to the Maurya period is found at Parkham half-way between Mathurā and Agra.[2] The satraps who ruled at Mathurā in the first century B. C. patronised the arts of architecture and sculpture, as appears from the inscribed lion capital in the British Museum. The great flourishing period of the Mathurā school undoubtedly coincides with the reign of the great Kushaṇa rulers Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudeva.[3] The bulk of the inscriptions found on or in connection with Mathurā sculptures are written in Brāhmī of the Kushaṇa type. Several of them are dated in the reign of one of those three kings; and we know that the monastery which once stood on the Jamālpur site was built in the days of Huvishka. That the Mathurā school still existed in the Gupta period is attested by some inscribed Buddha images, two of which are dated in

[1] Babu R. D. Banerji has since undertaken to write a catalogue of the Lucknow collection.
[2] *Cf.* Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XX, pp. 39 f.
[3] On the possible existence of a fourth Kushaṇa king, Hushka, *cf.* Lüders, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIII.

Gupta 135 (A. D. 454-55) and 230 (A. D. 549-50). But the production during this period is small as compared with that of Kushaṇa times.

After A. D. 600 the activity of the Mathurā sculptors apparently ceased, as hardly any inscriptions of a subsequent period are found. We may perhaps connect this fact with the fall of the Gupta empire and the decline of Buddhism.

There can be little doubt that the influence of the Mathurā school made itself largely felt throughout the period of its existence. "Everywhere in the north-west," Cunningham[1] says, "I find that the old Buddhist statues are made of the Sikri sandstone, from which it would appear that Mathurā must have been the great manufactory for the supply of Buddhist sculptures in Northern India."

This observation is remarkably corroborated by epigraphical records which have since come to light. The colossal Bōdhisattva image erected at Benares in the third year of Kanishka's reign and the contemporaneous Śrāvastī statue are not only carved in the spotted red sandstone of the Mathurā sculptures, but both were the gift of the Buddhist friar Bala whose name occurs also on an inscribed image from that place.[2] The famous Nirvāṇa statue of Kasiā, which may be assigned to the fifth century, appears to have been the work of Dinna of Mathurā—the only one of those numberless artists whose name, though imperfectly, has been preserved.[3]

A circumstance which from the beginning drew the attention of European scholars to Mathurā sculptures, is the Greek or rather Hellenistic influence which some of them betray. The first piece of sculpture discovered at Mathurā, the so-called "Silenus" in the Calcutta Museum, was at once described as "a relic of Grecian sculpture" and attributed to "an able artist who could not possibly have been a native of Hindustan." Prinsep refers to it as "a piece of sculpture bearing reference to Greek mythology, if not boasting as unequivocally of the beauty and perfection of Grecian sculpture." "There can be no doubt", he says, "as to the personage represented by the principal figure."

It was at once apparent that, though the sculpture was classical in character, it by no means reached even the lowest standard of Greek or Hellenistic art. For this reason Growse rejected Cunningham's theory about the existence of "a small body of Bactrian sculptors who found employment among the wealthy Buddhists at Mathurā, as in later days Europeans were employed under the Mughal emperors." Growse, moreover, after comparing the group with the one found by him in the Pāli Khēṛā mound, came to the conclusion that in neither case did the main figure represent Silenus. While attempting to find an Indian subject disguised in a classical form, he was the first to recognize the true nature of Hellenistic influence in Buddhist art. On both sculptures which apparently have belonged to Buddhist monuments the main figure is not Silenus. This view was endorsed by Mr. V. A. Smith.

I may note that among the sculptures recently returned from Allahabad to Mathurā there is a statuette of a corpulent male deity holding in his right hand a cup

[1] *A. S. R.*, Vol. XI, p. 75.

[2] *Cf.* my *Epigraphical discoveries at Sārnāth*, Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, pp. 166 ff, and T. Bloch, *Two inscriptions on Buddhist images*, ibidem, pp. 179 ff Dr. Bloch draws my attention to a pedestal with fragmentary inscription found in the ruins of old Rājagṛiha in 1906. It is made of Mathurā sandstone and belongs to the Kushana period.

[3] *Cf.* above, p. 49.

into which a female attendant is pouring some liquid. I have little doubt that this is the Bacchanalian group in an Indianised form. The interesting point is that here the main figure holds in his left hand an elongated bag—the typical attribute of Kubēra.

It may, moreover, be remarked that the main figure, as regards its attitude, bears some resemblance to the Kubēra statues of Gandhāra. On the latter we find regularly attending figures of Cupids evidently meant for Yakshas, and these, it will be noticed, occur also on both the Mathurā sculptures. One of these attending figures seems to raise the right hand towards that of the main figure, in exactly the same manner as in the Kubēra statue of Mardān[1]. The cups found on Colonel Stacy's Silenus may represent the treasure vases of the god of wealth, the rock on which he is seated Mount Kailāsa. We can imagine that the corpulent figure of Silenus attended by Cupids suggested to the Indian artist Kubēra with his Yakshas.[2] As regards the architectural meaning of the two sculptures Growse remarked that the shallow basin at the top of the stone seems to be nothing more than the bed for the reception of a round pillar.

A question of considerable interest is the relationship between the Mathurā sculptures and those of the Peshāwar district (the ancient Gandhāra), which likewise betray classical influence. On this point two widely different theories have been advanced. Mr. V. A. Smith expressed the opinion that "the Mathurā sculptures have very little in common with those of Gandhāra and seem to be the work of a different school." For this school he adopts the term Indo-Hellenic to differentiate it from the Græco-Buddhist school of Gandhāra to which he assigns a later date.[3]

Grünwedel, to whom hardly any specimens of Mathurā sculptures were available for examination, followed Mr. Vincent Smith in assuming the existence of an Indo-Hellenic school which flourished at Mathurā prior to the Græco-Buddhist school of the North-West. He remarks that the Mathurā school represents purely Greek subjects, among which he ranks the representation of Māra with bows and arrows.

I must remark at once, that in Gandharā reliefs, representing Siddhārtha's flight from Kapilavastu, Māra is commonly shown with a bow in his left hand. In Mathurā, on the contrary, no such representations have come to light. As to the subjects themselves, we must assume that both in Gandhāra and at Mathurā they were essentially Indian, notwithstanding their classical form. This classical appearance is on the whole much more prominent in Gandhāra than at Mathurā.

It did not, however, escape the notice of Grünwedel that "some Buddha statues found at Mathurā have also the robe laid over both shoulders and the folds executed on the dress point to the Gandhāra sculptures as models." This remark is not quite in agreement with the theory that the Mathurā school exhibits an earlier Greek influence than that of Gandhāra. Indeed it lends strong support to the

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[1] *Cf.* my *Note sur une statue du Gandhāra conservée au musée de Lahore*—B. E. F. E. O. Tome III (1903), pp. 6 ff. Fig. 3.

[2] I am indebted to Dr. Bloch for a reference to *Mēghadūta* II 3, where Yakshas are described as drinking wine produced by Wonder-trees (*Kalpavṛiksha*) in the company of fair damsels.

[3] *Græco Roman Influence on the Civilisation of Ancient India.* J. A. S. B., Vol. LVIII (1889) Part I, pp. 140 and 156.

opposite view which has been propounded by M. Foucher with great lucidity and which in the present paper I wish to endorse.

The Mathurā school, far from being a direct and early expression of Greek influence, received its classical inspiration indirectly through Gandhāra. The influence of the Græco-Buddhist school on all later Buddhist sculpture has so clearly been shown in M. Foucher's standard work, that no doubt can now subsist on this point. Mathurā, owing to its geographical position and—I may add—to its political importance during the Kushaṇa period, was the first to feel that influence. This explains the mixed character of the Mathurā school, in which we find on the one hand a direct continuation of the old Indian art of Barāhat (Bharaut) and Sānchī and on the other hand the classical influence derived from Gandhāra.[1]

The Indian character of the Mathurā school is nowhere more clearly expressed than on the carved railings which once surrounded the *stūpas* and other sacred monuments of that place. Such railings, it should be noticed, do not occur in the North-West. That those of Mathurā are derived from Old-Indian examples is proved both by their construction and decoration.

The most typical feature of the Mathurā railing-pillar are the female figures, standing under trees or balconies, which since the days of Cunningham have commonly been designated as dancing-girls. An obvious objection to this designation is the circumstance that in no case are these figures represented dancing. Cunningham[2] in order to obviate this difficulty, described them as "dancing girls posing themselves in various attitudes, some of them more or less immodest, during the intervals of the dance." But there is a peculiarity of these railing figures which militates against this explanation. They are very often shown standing on prostrate dwarfs and over them we see the foliage of a tree of which they hold a branch. This latter point has led to a confusion of these figures with representations of Māyā standing under the *sāl* tree.

For the interpretation of the so-called "dancing-girls" of Mathurā it is of interest to compare the well-known figures on the corner-pillars of the gates of Barāhat. Most of these are standing on animals; in the case of Kubēra, the king of the Yakshas, the *vāhana* is a dwarf. Of special interest are the two marked as Cha[n]dā Yakhi and Chulakōka Dēvatā, which with their right hand clasp the branch of a tree over their head whilst the left hand touches the girdle. Cunningham remarks that a corner pillar of the railing of Bōdh-Gayā bears a Yakshī in exactly the same position as Chandā and Chulakōka.

Grünwedel, in treating of these figures in Old-Indian art, refers to the Bhūtēsar railing pillars (Pl. LI), but without drawing the inference that in both cases the subject must be the same. The personages on the Barāhat gates are denoted in the accompanying inscriptions as Yakshas, Yakshīs, and other demi-gods. They belong to that class of godlings (Dēvatās), which play such an important part in Indian folklore. Cunningham has well explained their meaning in sculpture as guardians of the sacred monument, at the gates of which they are placed. They may thus be compared with the Dvārapālas (door-keepers) of mediæval architecture and with the Rākshasa figures which guard the temples of Java.

[1] A. Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra* (Paris 1905), Tome I, pp. 222 and 615.
[2] *A.S.R.*, Vol. III, p. 26.

What reason is there not to assume that the Mathurā railing figures have the same meaning as their Barāhat prototypes and represent semi-divine beings, presumably Yakshīs? This would explain why they are sometimes shown sword in hand[1]—an attribute which would be hardly compatible with the character of a *nāch* girl. I may also note that Yakshas in literature sometimes assume the nature of tree-spirits, and this may account for these figures being so often placed under trees.

As to the dwarf on which the Mathurā pillar figures are commonly placed, we have seen that at Barāhat Kubēra, the lord of Yakshas, stands on a crouching demon with pointed ears and a prominent belly. Dwarfs occur as Atlantes in the capitals of the western gateway of Sānchī, where Fergusson surmises them to have a mythological meaning. At Barāhat also they are found as supporting figures. On some of the Amarāvatī reliefs they are playing, dancing, and gambolling and, what is more important, on a relief representing Siddhārtha's flight from Kapilavastu we see them supporting the hoofs of the horse Kaṇṭhaka.[2] From this it is evident that these figures are Yakshas, who indeed in Indian folklore play the same part as the dwarfs of German mythology. Alternately malignant or beneficent, they are regarded as the guardians of treasures, and thus their king Kuvēra has become the god of wealth. I may remark in parenthesis that the character of such imaginary beings is necessarily somewhat vague and susceptible of vacillations both in literature and plastic art. In the Buddhist scriptures the Yakshas often occur as man-eating demons and thus actually assume the character of Rākshasas, but under the holy influence of Buddha's preaching they promptly abandon their cruel propensities.

I have little doubt that, whilst the Mathurā railing figures represent Yakshīs, the dwarfs on which they stand are meant for their male counterparts. I may mention here that on a railing-pillar in the Mathurā Museum the dwarf is not supporting the female figure, but crouches at her feet, raising both arms towards a fruit which she holds in her right hand. Above her a head peeps over a curtain suspended between two pillars behind her. We may compare a similar device on one of the railing-pillars of the Barāhat *stūpa*.[3] More commonly we find the top of the pillar carved with a balcony over which one or two figures are partly visible. The Bhūtēsar pillars afford an instance of this device which would seem to be peculiar to the Mathurā school. If, however, we compare the different specimens of railing-pillars preserved in the Lucknow and Mathurā Museums, there can be little doubt that this feature also is ultimately derived from the Old-Indian examples.

The Barāhat pillar figures which are not placed under a tree are surmounted by a half-rosette and in one case by a bas-relief showing a *stūpa* with its usual railing. The Mathurā Museum possesses two railing-pillars (Nos. J 1 and 2) on which above the female figure we find a relief evidently referring to some *jātaka*. One of these two pillars is that, noticed above, which once stood on the top of the Bhūtēsar mound. The scene pictured in the top panel seems to have some connection with that of Barāhat in which a giant, perhaps a Rākshasa, is having a tooth drawn by monkeys.

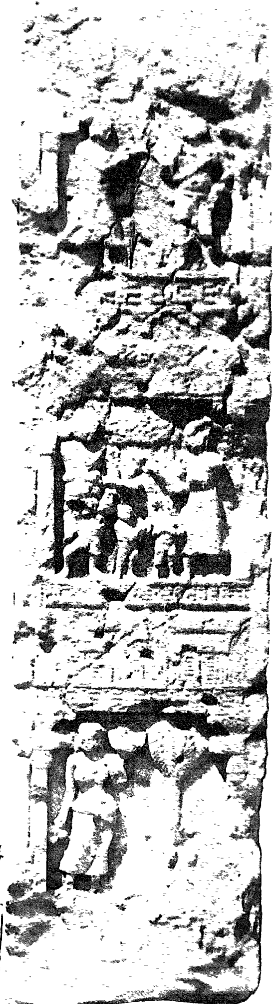
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[1] V. A. Smith, *The Jain Stūpa*, Plates LXII and CIII.
[2] Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, Plates L, LII, LIX, LXVII, and LXXIV.
[3] Cunningham, *Bharhut*, Plate XI.

MATHURĀ SCULPTURES.

(*a*) OBVERSE.

(*b*) REVERSE.

On the other pillar, the top relief is circular in shape and shows a man with an umbrella apparently addressing an assembly of persons seated in three rows. This pillar is also remarkable, because here the supposed Yaksha is not supporting the female figure but is crouching in a cave beneath her feet. He has pointed ears, protruding eyes, and a grinning mouth.

In one of the Chaubārā mounds Mr. Growse discovered a railing-pillar carved with a figure which he describes as a dancing-girl[1], but which undoubtedly represents a male person of a faun-like appearance standing under a tree. Over the tree there is the Buddhist railing, which apparently here is simply decorative, but, no doubt, is the prototype of the balconies with figures which are so common on Mathurā railing-pillars. It should, moreover, be remarked that figures on balconies are very common both on the bas-reliefs of Sānchī and on those of Gandhāra. They form a purely indigenous element directly copied from actual life and as often pictured in poetry as in sculpture.

On the back of the Mathurā railing-pillars we find either decorative medallions with rosettes, phantastical animals and sacred symbols, such as are found on the Old-Indian monuments, or illustrative panels usually relating to *jātakas*. On the peculiar treatment of the latter I shall speak further on.

The coping-stones of the Mathurā railings are decorated with borders of conventional floral design, sometimes interspersed with animals. It is interesting to note that very often such borders are surmounted by a narrow band of bells similar to that found on the coping-stone of the Barāhat railing. The crossbars, bearing rosettes of the same type as those found on the pillars, again prove the close relationship between the railings of Mathurā and those of the Maurya period.[2]

As to the *tōraṇas*, that integral part of the Buddhist railing, no specimen has been preserved at Mathurā. That at Mathurā also such gateways existed, is proved by a detached architrave which was discovered by General Cunningham on the Katrā site in 1862-63 and after many peregrinations has been placed in the local museum. It is profusely sculptured on both sides with buildings, figures, and trees including a representation of a *tōraṇa* itself.[3]

We know of two tablets of homage (Skr. *āyāgapaṭa*), one complete and the other fragmentary, which give us a picture of a Mathurā *stūpa* with a railing around and in front a *tōraṇa* approached by a flight of steps.[4] They show that structurally these *tōraṇas* do not differ from those of Barāhat and Sānchī, though here their decoration is less elaborate. It will be seen that on the complete specimen, the so-called "votive *stūpa*" of the Holi gate, now in the Mathurā Museum, flying figures are seen hovering over the sacred monument which they adorn with garlands and flowers. Here as well as on the fragment in the Lucknow Museum nude female figures are leaning in graceful attitudes against the drum of the *stūpa*. In

[1] Growse, *Mathura*, p. 123, also *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 219, No. 6, and *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLVII (1878), Pt. I, p. 118; Plates XVIII and XX. It is now preserved in the Mathurā Museum. (Cat. No. J 7).

[2] For reproductions of pillars, coping-stones and cross-bars of Mathurā railings *cf.* V. A. Smith, *The Jain Stūpa*, Plates LIX-LXXXIV.

[3] Cf. *A. S. R.*, Vol. I, p. 237 and III, p. 15, and Growse, *Mathura*, p. 106.

[4] V. A. Smith, *The Jain Stūpa*, Plates XII, XV and CIII. *Cf.* also Bhagvānlāl Indrajī *Actes du sixième congrès international des Orientalistes tenu en 1883 à Leide* (Leide 1885) Pt. III., Section II, pp. 142 ff; with plate.

view of what has been remarked above, I take these figures to represent not dancing-girls but Yakshīs. Their occurrence together with other semi-divine beings on these sculptures confirms the proposed identification. The lost portion of this tablet of homage must also have contained flying figures, as the feet of one of them are still preserved. Finally, I wish to draw attention to the pillars placed in the corners of the *stūpa* railing, which give us a clue as to the actual position of such monuments.

On the northern gate of Sānchī we find the end of the lowermost architrave supported by curious brackets in the shape of a female figure standing under a tree. The Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā has yielded similar brackets in which the figures are standing on an elephant, a crocodile and a dwarf.[1] The position of these brackets must have been the same as at Sānchī. The figures I take to represent Yakshīs, which here play the same rôle as their male counterparts.

The above remarks will suffice to show that the Mathurā school of sculpture is essentially Indian and in its main characteristics is derived from the art exhibited by the monuments of the Maurya period. On the other hand, it contains many an element which is not found in Old-Indian sculpture and which, as I shall endeavour to show, can be traced back to the classically inspired school of Gandhāra.

The most important innovation is the appearance of the Buddha image. It is a well-known fact that the oldest Buddhist monuments do not contain any representation of the Buddha either as a detached statue or in bas-reliefs. Both in Gandhāra and Mathurā Buddha statues occur in great numbers, and on the scenes relating to his life his figure has replaced the ancient symbols. As regards artistic merit, the Buddha of Gandhāra with his expression of benign serenity, his Apollo-like face, wavy locks, and ample-folded robe is infinitely superior to the clumsy, rigid, and expressionless Buddha of Mathurā. So great is the difference that at first sight a connection between the two seems inadmissible. But on closer examination it appears that the attitudes in both cases are the same. The standing image has invariably the right hand raised towards the shoulder in the gesture which in Buddhist iconography expresses the imparting of security or protection (*abhaya-mudrā*). The seated images exhibit the same posture ; or both hands are placed in the lap in the attitude of meditation (*dhyāna-mudrā*). It is noteworthy that other *mudrās*, those of the touching of the earth (*bhūmisparśa-mudrā*) and of the turning of the wheel of the law (*dharmachakra-mudrā*) hardly occur in Mathurā sculpture. Of the latter I cannot quote a single instance and of the former only two, representations of Māra's attack on Buddha under the *bōdhi* tree both in the Mathurā Museum.

That both in Gandhāra and Mathurā the Buddha is clad in the garment of a Buddhist monk, need not imply any dependence. But it is of interest that the folds of the upper garment (Skr. *saṅghāṭi*) are clearly marked, and in Gandhāra in a much more classical manner than at Mathurā. From the treatment of the dress it has been rightly inferred by Grünwedel that Mathurā has borrowed its Buddha image from Gandhāra. The same is true with regard to the Buddha figure of Amarāvatī. It should be noted that this treatment is un-Indian and, though continued at Mathurā in the Gupta period, disappears again in mediæval Buddhist sculpture.

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[1] V. A. Smith. *op. cit,* Plates XXXIV, XXXV and XXXVII.

A good example of the conventional treatment of the drapery is offered by a colossal standing Buddha image (ht. 8′ 8″) preserved in the Public Library at Allahabad (Pl. LII *a*). Both the style and material of this image prove that it originates from Mathurā or, at any rate, belongs to the Mathurā school. The head, which is refixed to the body, has the same want of expression which, as noted above, is peculiar to the Buddhas of Mathurā. The hair is arranged in schematic curls; the *ushṇīsha* is clearly indicated on the top of the head. Of the halo [1] only two fragments are left on both sides of the shoulder. It shows the same scalloped border which is typical for Mathurā images. The robe with its schematic folds covers both shoulders and leaves the outline of the body clearly marked. The latter feature is preserved on the Buddha images of Sārnāth, though here the drapery is no longer indicated. Both the arms of the Allahabad statue are broken at the elbow, but there can be little doubt that the right was raised against the shoulder, whilst the left held the hem of the garment.

Of still greater interest than the image itself are the three miniature attending figures. Between its feet we notice a figurine standing against a cluster of lotus flowers and wearing an elaborate head-dress and ornaments. A mantle or shawl, sliding down from the left shoulder over the left arm, is slung round the legs beneath the right knee. Its right hand which is missing must have been raised in the attitude of protection, its left hand holds a small vessel.

The two other figurines, somewhat larger in size, are apparently a monk and a lay member (*upāsaka*) kneeling on both sides of the Buddha's feet. The monk, dressed in a robe which leaves the right shoulder bare, holds a bunch of lotus flowers; the *upāsaka* in secular attire holds a wreath as an offering. It is curious that the monk's figure wears heavy earrings.

Here I wish to draw attention to a peculiarity of the Buddha image of Gandhāra. Usually its pedestal is carved with a relief showing a Bōdhisattva between adoring figures of worshippers. Elsewhere I have suggested that the latter, originally at least, were meant to represent the donors of the sculpture on which they occur.[2] Anyhow, it seems highly probable that the three figurines on the Allahabad statue are derived from Gandhāra examples. It is true that in the present case the figures are placed on the top of the base. This alteration may perhaps be accounted for by the circumstance that the front face is usually preserved for dedicatory inscriptions which at Mathurā are both much more common and more extensive than in Gandhāra. The similarity of the central figurine in dress and attitude with the figures occurring on Gandhāra pedestals leaves little doubt that it represents a Bōdhisattva. We may go a step further and, on account of the vessel in its left hand, identify it with Maitrēya. I may note here that very often between the feet of Mathurā statues figures or symbols are shown which possibly are intended for a cognizance of the personage represented. The kneeling figures of devotees placed on the top or on the front of the bases have been preserved all through the later history of Indian art.

The statue of Allahabad, besides showing the type of the Mathurā Buddha, has thus supplied us at the same time with the type of the Mathurā Bōddhisattva. Here, however, we meet with a difficulty. In my opinion, the figurine in royal dress with the

[1] The halo is a feature borrowed from Hellenistic art. *Cf.* Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, pp. 86f.

[2] Cf. *A. S. R.*, 1903-1904, pp. 255ff, Plate LXVII.

vessel in the left hand is undoubtedly derived from those well-known figures from Gandhāra which, originally designated as "royal persons," have been identified by Grünwedel as Bōdhisattvas and have since been considered as such by other authorities.

We possess, however, the two statues [1] of Sārnāth and Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh—both belonging to the Mathurā school—which in their inscriptions are defined as Bōdhisattvas but present a type entirely different from the one just described. They wear neither diadem nor ornaments, but only two plain garments. The under-garment is fastened round the loins by means of a flat girdle; the upper garment is thrown over the left shoulder and arm, leaving the right shoulder bare. It would indeed be difficult to derive these clumsy and unwieldy figures from the graceful Bōdhisattvas of Gandhāra. It should, however, be remarked that here also there exists a distinct affinity both in attitude and drapery. The Bōdhisattvas of Gandhāra have their right hand raised above the elbow, whilst the left hand is placed on the hip. The mantle is thrown over the left shoulder. All this we find in the Bōdhisattva statues of Sārnāth and Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh, but treated in a most unartistic and schematic fashion. The right hand is laid flat against the shoulder, the left fist rests on the hip and the drapery is stiff and unnatural.

The absence of ornaments is a point still to be explained. Here it is only possible to make conjectures; the following, however, deserves to be noticed. The two Bōdhisattvas in plain dress were erected on spots intimately connected with the career of Śākyamuni "on the place where the Lord used to walk (*Bhagavatō chaṅkramē*)." There is thus every reason to assume that they were meant to represent no other than the historical Bōdhisattva.

What particular motive the donors had in erecting a Bōdhisattva and not a Buddha statue on spots which Śākyamuni was supposed to have visited after his attainment of enlightenment, it is impossible to decide. But there is every reason to assume that the images of Sārnāth and Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh were meant to represent the Bōdhisattva Śākyamuni, although the absence of ornaments would point to the period between the great renunciation and the *bōdhi*.

We have seen, on the other hand, that the Bōdhisattva figurine on the Allahabad statue, on account of its attribute, may be identified with Maitrēya. I feel, therefore, inclined to assume that similar figures in royal dress represent celestial Bōdhisattvas. That these figures are derived from Græco-Buddhist examples, will be confirmed in the course of the present paper. As regards Friar Bala's Bōdhisattvas, I believe that they likewise go back to Gandhāra, though in a way they may be called a creation of the Mathurā school. They may indeed be styled Buddhas without monk's robe or Bōdhisattvas without ornaments.

It is of interest to note here a standing statue in the Mathurā Museum (No. A40), which shows, as it were, a link between the plain and ornamented Bōdhisattva type. Unfortunately the head and the arms are lost, but the attitude was presumably the same as that of the Sārnāth and Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh statues. The torso is nude, but round the neck there are two necklaces. The lower portion of the body is clad in a plain garment probably meant for a *dhōtī* held round the loins by a double flat girdle. Its find-place is unknown.

[1] Cf. *A. S. R.*, 1904-1905, Plate XXVI. It is noteworthy that both statues are carved in the round. This is also the case with the Parkham image and is a characteristic of the Mathurā school.

PLATE LI.

MATHURĀ SCULPTURES.



(*a*) BUDDHA STATUE IN ALLAHABAD LIBRARY.



(*b*) BODHISATTVA FRAGMENT IN MATHURĀ MUSEUM.

Another Bōdhisattva figure [1], which exhibits a close affinity with the Gandhāra type, is preserved in the Lucknow Museum. It is said to originate from the ruins of Gaṇēśvara, 3 miles north-west of Mathurā. The head and feet are lost. The attitude is that of the Bōdhisattvas of Sārnāth and Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh. Specially noticeable is the cushion-like pad between the raised hand and the shoulder, which is also peculiar to the Sārnāth statue. The torso is nude but for a flat necklace. The wrists are provided with heavy bracelets. The upper garment is partly thrown over the left arm which is placed on the hip and partly slung round the right leg. The lower garment is held up by means of a cord-like girdle ending in a tassel which hangs down between the two feet. A comparison between this figure and the Gandhāra Bōdhisattvas will clearly show both the close resemblance in detail and the enormous difference in style.

Still more clearly is Gandhāra influence expressed in an interesting fragment preserved in the Mathurā Museum (No. A47; Pl. LII). It consists of the lower portion of a figure seated in the European fashion on a wickerwork chair. The sandaled left foot is placed on an ornamental footstool at the side of the empty right sandal. Evidently the right leg, which is broken, was drawn up. This peculiar posture, which has become typical for the Bōdhisattvas of mediæval art, is first found in Gandhāra. It is obvious that this Mathurā fragment is a copy of Græco-Buddhist sculptures like the inscribed Bōdhisattva from Loriyān Tangai in the Calcutta Museum.[2]

From the above remarks it follows that both the Buddha and Bōdhisattva images of Mathurā are imitations by Indian sculptors of the prototypes created by the Hellenistic artists of Gandhāra. The process of deterioration of those types can be traced in Gandhāra itself where the work of the foreign sculptors was continued by their Indianized descendants or successors.

It has been noticed above that at the same time that the Buddha statue is called into existence, we also see the Buddha figure appear on the bas-reliefs representing scenes from his life. These scenes are much less numerous and varied at Mathurā than Gandhāra [3], where we have a complete "Buddha-charita" sculptured in stone. In mediæval art such scenes are almost exclusively limited to the four great events of Buddha's life: his birth, enlightenment, first sermon, and death.

Mathurā represents an intermediary stage, at which we find, besides the four great events, a few others of secondary importance. It is not unreasonable to expect that future explorations at Mathurā will reveal the existence of other scenes, but their number will never reach the exuberant growth of Græco-Buddhist art. Not only is Gandhāra influence traceable in nearly every individual scene, but their general arrangement is evidently derived from the North-West. The scenes are either carved one above the other on steles (Sanskrit *ūrdhvapaṭṭa*) or decorate the frieze of some religious building.

The most interesting instance of the latter device is presented by the drum of a miniature *stūpa* from the Dhruv mound near Mathurā, now placed in the local Museum. M. Foucher in his able discussion of the Sikri *stūpa* drum in the Lahore Museum,

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[1] V. A. Smith, *The Jain Stūpa*, Plate LXXXVII. The image is neither "Vardhamāna" nor "some Brahmanical deity." The head figured on the same plate does not seem to belong to the same image.

[2] *A.S.R.*, 1903-04, Plate LXVIII C.

[3] V. A. Smith, *op cit.*, Plates CV-CVII. A. Foucher. *Les bas-reliefs du stūpa de Sikri (Gandhāra)*, J. A. 1903, p. 323. I venture to disagree with the author as regards the interpretation of two of the scenes.

has first pointed out the close connection between these two monuments. In both we find a series of scenes from Buddha's life separated by little pilasters and surmounted by a dental cornice. In the Gandhāra example the classical character is much more clearly expressed, and that from Mathurā is merely a debased imitation.

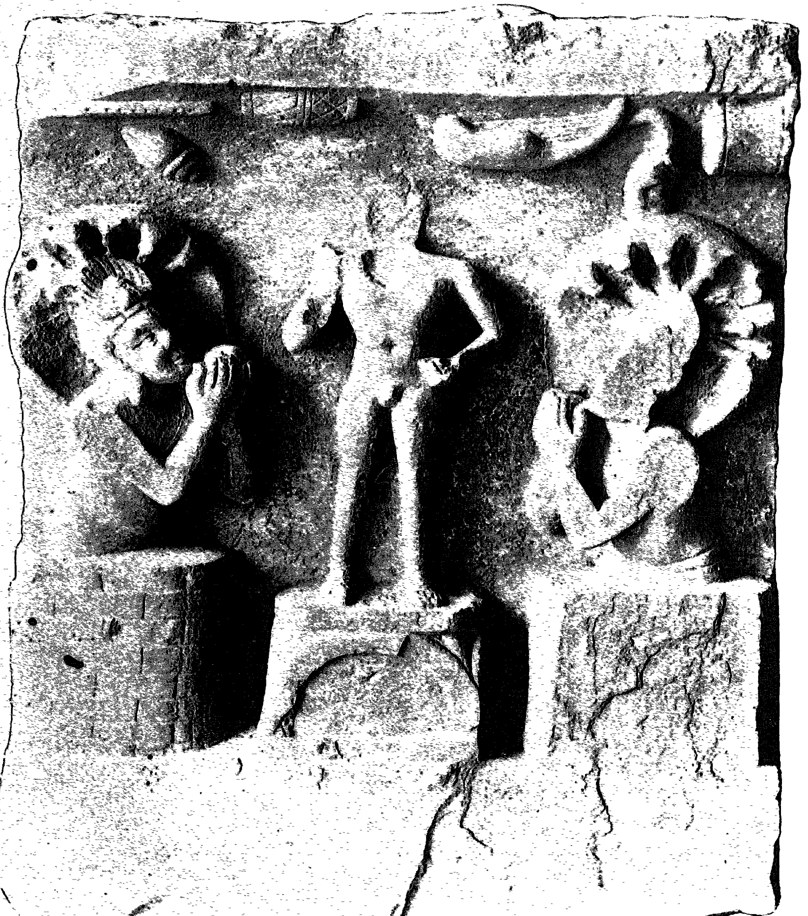
The latter contains eight bas-reliefs representing the following subjects: Buddha's birth, his enlightenment (expressed by Māra's attack), his first sermon, his death, the Gandhakuṭi of Śrāvastī (?), his descent from the Trayastriṁśa heaven, the presentation of the four cups by the four Lōkapālas, and Indra's visit at the Indraśaila cave. Thus we have the four great events, followed by four minor events. It is noteworthy that the latter only partially correspond with the four minor events of the Buddhist canon. At the time when the Mathurā school flourished, they were apparently not yet definitely fixed. It is also curious that, in order to obtain the five great scenes in the right order, we have to circumambulate the monument in a direction opposed to that of the *pradakshiṇā*.

On the panel representing Buddha's birth we see Māyā standing under the *sāl* tree in exactly the same posture as on the numerous Gandhāra reliefs relating to that event. But the scene is here combined with another immediately following it in order of time. The infant Buddha, marked by a circular halo, is standing between two Nāgas, which issue half-way from masonry wells and fold their hands in adoration. There can be little doubt that these are the Nāga kings Nanda and Upananda who, according to the Lalita-vistara, issued from the earth and showered two streams of water over the new-born Bōdhisattva[1]. Here we may compare a fragment from Amarāvatī on which next to the birth-scene we find a bas-relief on which two females, one carrying a kerchief with the sacred foot-prints and the other holding an umbrella over it, approach a fountain enclosure from which issues a Nāga, the hands joined in adoration. Another adoring female (?) figure is seen behind[2].

On Sārnāth reliefs the two Nāgas are commonly represented standing in the air over the infant Buddha and pouring water over his head. It is interesting to note that in Gandhāra sculpture the first bath is administered by Brahmā and Indra. Considering the frequency of Nāga scenes in Græco-Buddhist art, we are led to believe that the legend of Buddha's first bath by the two Nāga kings must have been unknown to the sculptors of the North-West. It was in any case the Mathurā sculptors who first gave it visible shape. We find it treated in exactly the same manner on a slab from the Rājghāṭ in the Mathurā Museum (No. H1). This sculpture contains the four main events of Buddha's life and his descent from heaven. There also the scene of the first bath by the Nāgā kings Nanda and Upananda is combined with that of the Nativity.

The Mathurā Museum contains another sculpture (No. H2; Pl. LIII) said to originate from near the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, which Cunningham, presumably misled by the nudity of the central figure, supposed to represent a Jaina saint[3]. But a comparison with the two sculptures just discussed proves that here again we have the scene of the first bath treated in the conventional manner peculiar to Mathurā. It is curious that already at this early stage of his life the future Buddha is shown in his usual attitude :

1 *Lalitavistara* (ed. Lefmann); p. 83, *cf.* Hiuen Tsiang *Si-yu-ki* (transl. Beal), Vol. II, pp. 24 f.
2 Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 212, Plate XCI.
3 *A. S. R.*, Vol. XX, p. 35, Plate IV.



(*a*) OBVERSE.



(*b*) REVERSE.

SCULPTURE IN MATHURĀ MUSEUM.

the left-hand on the hip, the right raised in the gesture of imparting protection. The representation of the Nāgas issuing half-way from wells, which we find at Amarāvatī and on the Mathurā sculptures, is a feature evidently borrowed from Gandhāra art, though here again the difference in treatment shows the artistic superiority of the latter most clearly. The elegant fountain enclosure with its gargoyle has become a circular masonry well.

It is curious that, whereas the Sārnāth sculptures closely agree with the Lalitavistara, in showing the two Nāgas " standing in the air half-bodied ", the Mathurā reliefs follow another reading of the legend which is found in Hiuen Tsiang[1]. When visiting the Lumbinī garden, the Chinese pilgrim noticed two fountains of pure water, by the side of which had been built two *stūpas*. " This is the place where two dragons appeared from the earth. When Bōdhisattva was born, the attendants and household relations hastened in every direction to find water for the use of the child. At this time two springs gurgled forth from the earth just before the queen, the one cold, the other warm, using which they bathed him ". Though, as noticed above, this scene seems to be a creation of the Mathurā school, there is one feature which apparently is derived from Gandhāra. It is the " heavenly music " expressed by five or six musical instruments suspended in the air which we notice on the bas-relief in the Mathurā Museum[2]. The instruments are a flute, a conch, a drum, a lute (*vīṇā*), a bag-pipe (?) and a tabor.

Of Buddha's enlightenment I know only two representations from Mathurā: one on the *stūpa* drum of Dhruv Ṭīlā, and the other on the slab from the Rāj Ghāṭ. Both are now placed in the local museum. The attitude of the Buddha, here as in Gandhāra, is that of touching the earth (*bhūmisparśa-mudrā*). The figure to his right seems to be Māra; to his left we see Māra's daughters. The latter do not occur on Gandhāra examples of this scene and seem indeed to have been first introduced by the sculptors of Mathurā. In mediæval art, on the contrary, they are commonly shown as taking part in " Māra's assault."

Of the third great scene—the first sermon at Benares—we possess three examples from Mathurā. Besides those on the *stūpa* drum of Dhruv Ṭīlā and the Rāj Ghāṭ sculpture, we have the fragment of a frieze likewise preserved in the Mathurā Museum (No. H7, Pl. LIV) which contains the first sermon and the Nirvāṇa. It is interesting to note the dwarf pilaster which terminates the latter scene—evidently a degenerate descendant of the Indo-Corinthian pilasters of Gandhāra. The scenes representing the first sermon are exact counterparts of some Gandhāra reliefs (*e.g.*, D-15 of the Lahore Museum) on which we find the Master, surrounded by the five Friars, actually turning the wheel of the law, which is placed on a pillar at his side. On the Rāj Ghāṭ sculpture the wheel is absent.

Besides the sculptures just noted, the Mathurā Museum possesses another fragment (No. H8) with the representation of Buddha's death[3]. It evidently formed part of a stele (*ūrdhvapaṭṭa*) on which the four great scenes were arranged one above the other,

[1] *Si-yu-ki*-(transl. Beal), Vol. II, pp. 24 f.

[2] Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra, p. 301.* Cf. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Suttas* S. B. E., Vol. XI, pp. 101 and 249.

[3] Foucher, *op. cit.*, p. 569, fig. 282.

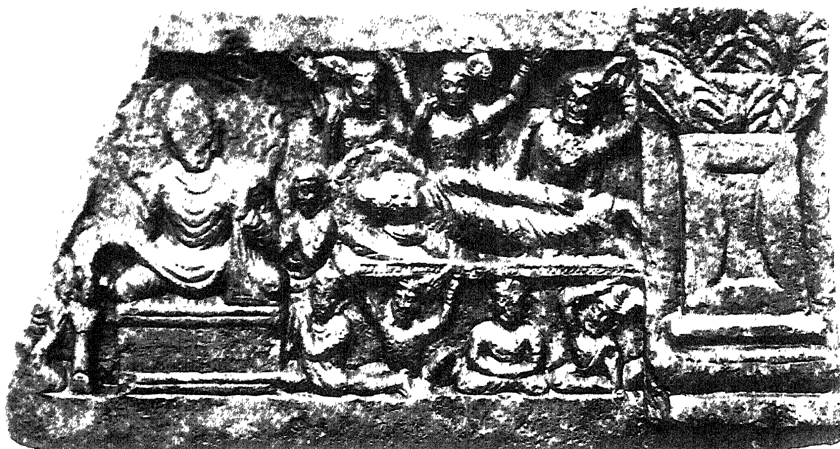
the Nirvāṇa occupying the lowermost compartment. The close connection between this sculpture and the Græco-Buddhist representations of the *parinirvāṇa* will at once be apparent. The main figure of the scene is the dying Buddha reclining on his couch in the attitude described in the Pali text. We notice again the halo with scalloped border peculiar to Mathurā.

Of the twin *sāl* trees between which the couch was placed only one is preserved, the opposite corner of the panel being broken. Among the foliage we notice the figure of the tree spirit in the act of showering flowers. In exactly the same manner the genii of the *sāl* trees are shown on some of the finest Nirvaṇas from Gandhāra, *e g.*, the two from Loriyān Tangai, now in the Calcutta Museum[1]. The mourning figures standing behind the couch, the hands raised in the attitude of grief, are also regularly found on Gandhāra reliefs. There their number varies. But in both the Mathurā Museum reliefs there are three figures, the central one raising both hands. On the *ūrdhvapaṭṭa* fragment there is still some variety in the attitude of the two other figures, one of which has placed his right hand on his head, whereas the other conceals his face behind a handkerchief. But on the other sculpture these three figures present a much more schematic appearance, the central one raising both hands, that to his right the right and that to his left the left hand. Thus we see the *parinirvāṇa* scene, the creation of a Hellenistic artist, gradually modified by the tendency towards symmetry and conventionalism. This process is already noticeable in Gandhāra itself, as will be seen from a comparison of the six Nirvāṇa reliefs published by M. Foucher.[2]

On the stele fragment we notice, next, two figures standing on both sides of Buddha's couch. That at his feet wearing monk's dress has been identified by M. Foucher with Mahākāśyapa. On the other sculpture these two figures are missing. It seems that on the *stūpa* drum from Dhruv Ṭīlā the two figures re-occur. Here the number of attendants is limited to three, the third one standing at the back of the couch with both hands raised. It is remarkable that the usual figures in front of the couch are absent here.

On the stele of the Mathurā Museum we notice in front of the couch three figures, one of which, a monk seated in meditation, has been identified by M. Foucher with Subhadra, the Master's last convert. The three sticks at his side I suppose to mark him as a Brahmanical ascetic (Sanskrit *tridaṇḍin*). This figure is invariably found on Gandhāra reliefs, either alone or accompanied by a prostrate figure in monk's dress, probably meant for Ānanda. On the other sculpture in the Mathurā Museum we have again three figures, Subhadra occupying the centre. The other two wearing royal dress are perhaps meant for Malla chieftains. It would seem that the Mathurā school, out of a sense of symmetry, has retained these three figures which are still found on the colossal Nirvāṇa image of Kasiā, a work of the fifth century which, as noted above, appears to be wrought by a Mathurā artist. At Kasiā also the cross-legged ascetic with his three staffs occupies the centre. The figure on the left is a lay-member, but that on the right wears monk's dress and most probably represents Ānanda, who plays such a prominent part in the legend of the Great Decease. This

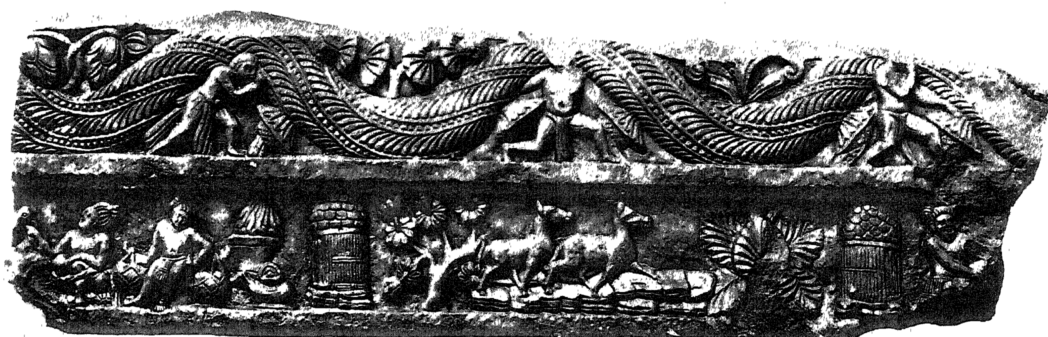
[1] Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, figs. 71 and 72.
[2] A. Foucher, *op. cit.*, figs. 276-281.



(a)



(b)



(c)

SCULPTURES IN MATHURÂ MUSEUM.

instance illustrates how Mathurā was the intermediary between Gandhāra and the art of the Gupta period.

Here I wish to note the curious fact that the mysterious Vajrapāṇi who occurs in Gandhāra, not only in the death-scene, but in nearly every scene relating to the Buddha legend, as a constant companion of the Master, is totally absent on corresponding reliefs from Mathurā. It would seem that the original meaning of this figure had become lost and the Mathurā sculptors did not feel any scruples in eliminating it from the entourage of the Buddha.

Whereas at Mathurā the scenes relating to the life of Śākyamuni are very few as compared with the long and varied series created by the Græco-Buddhist school of Gandhāra, the Mathurā school exhibits a far greater number and variety of scenes referring to his previous existences. In this respect, again, Mathurā art shows itself a true descendant of Maurya sculpture as exemplified on the *stūpa* of Barāhat. Yet in the treatment of such scenes by the Mathurā sculptors Gandhāra influence is unmistakable. In Old-Indian sculpture the whole story is condensed in a single bas-relief, the actors being repeated in various attitudes peculiar to their consecutive adventures and actions. This treatment imparts an enigmatic character to these sculptures which it is only possible to understand with the aid of inscriptions. At Jamālgaṛhī, on the contrary, the Viśvantara and Śyāma *jātakas* are pictured in a far more lucid fashion and evolved in a series of scenes separated by trees. This method which, simple though it may seem, had not commended itself to the sculptors of the Maurya epoch, is also found at Mathurā.

On the back of one of the railing-pillars of Bhūtēsar (Pl. LI, *b*) in the Mathurā Museum, there are three scenes representing a passage of the Viśvantara-jātaka, in which that paragon of generosity gives his two children away to a Brahmin. In the upper panel the Bōdhisattva apparently pours water in the hand of his supplicant so as to solemnize the donation. The hermit's hut with its covering of leaves is seen in the background. In the central panel we see the two children being led away by the Brahmin and in the lower-most relief their mother is returning with water and fruit.

It is of interest to note, that, though the treatment of this *jātaka* in a series of scenes must have originated from Gandhāra, the individual scenes of the Mathurā pillar do not show any dependence on the only representation of this *jātaka* we know of in Gandhāra art—that of Jamālgaṛhī, now preserved in the British Museum. To a certain extent the treatment of the story may be called original. This is also borne out by a comparison with the representation of this *jātaka* on the lower architrave of the northern gateway of Sānchī.[1]

The back of the other Bhūtēsar railing-pillar in the Mathurā Museum contains also three bas-reliefs which unfortunately are much damaged. In the upper panel there is a Buddha or more probably Bōdhisattva seated in the usual posture on a throne. Behind two attendants are standing, one of whom holds a fly-whisk (*chāmara*). In the central panel we discern the figure of a Brahmanical hermit seated on a cushion of holy grass. Another figure seems to stand in front of him, but is too much

[1] Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, Plate XXXII, fig. 2, *cf.* p. 101, where the first pat of the story is describad. Plate LXV, fig. I, gives the Amarāvatī reading.

defaced to be identified. The lowermost relief shows a lion or tiger seizing a human figure between his teeth. In the background there are a hermit's hut and a tree.

I feel inclined to assume that these three scenes refer to the Jātaka of the tiger (*vyāghra-jātaka*). In this birth-story it is related how the Bōdhisattva gave his own body to feed a hungry tigress which was about to devour her own cubs. The ascetic in the central scene and the hermit's hut in the last one support this identification. It remains to decide what connection the upper panel can have with this story. The most plausible explanation seems to me that it represents the Bōdhisattva in his heavenly abode previous to his taking birth as a Brahmin. It will be noticed that the seated figure is draped in the same manner as the Bōdhisattva statues of Sārnāth and Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh. Thus it would confirm my supposition that these figures represent the Bōdhisattva predestined to become the Buddha Śākyamuni.

The three scenes on one of the railing-pillars of Colonel Stacy, which, as noted above, belongs to the same railing, have been explained by Cunningham[1] as referring to the miracle of Rājagṛiha in which Buddha subdued an elephant let loose against him by his malignant cousin Dēvadatta. The central panel bears indeed a strong resemblance to the Gandhāra reliefs which picture that event; but the final scene, in which, according to Cunningham, Dēvadatta is himself destroyed by the infuriated elephant does not seem to agree with the written tradition. It is, however, quite possible that the Mathurā sculpture represents a different reading of the story not found in extant Buddhist literature. Presently we shall meet with a similar instance in the representation of a Jātaka.

If Cunningham's interpretation is correct, it would follow that the reliefs on the Bhūtēsar railing-pillars not only picture Buddha's previous existences, but also the last one in which he obtained enlightenment. It is not unreasonable to hope that some day more pillars of this railing will be found which will show whether this view is correct. Two points are still to be noted with regard to this railing. First of all the scenes carved on the back of the pillars leave not the slightest doubt that they have belonged to a Buddhist monument, most probably a *stūpa*. It seems plausible that this monument belonged to the Yaśā-vihāra, which once occupied the site of the Kaṭrā. The other point to which I wish to draw attention is the occurrence of Indo-Persepolitan pilasters at the side of each scene. This is not only a regular device on Mathurā railing-pillars, but a similar pilaster will also be seen on the *ūrdhvapaṭṭa* fragment representing Buddha's *nirvāṇa*. It is a feature found also at Barāhat, where the panels are enclosed between a pair of pilasters. In the case of the Bhūtēsar railing-pillars each pair of pilasters supports an architrave carved with one ogee arch in the centre and two half-arches at the sides. The idea apparently was to place each scene of the sacred legend within a little chapel.

The Mathurā Museum contains a fragment of a railing-pillar (No. J 36; fig. 1) with a bas-relief representing two men in the act of killing a tortoise with sticks. This scene evidently refers to the Kachchhapa-jātaka, but it is noteworthy that the death of the tortoise, as shown on the sculpture, agrees with the version of the Pañchatantra and not with that of the Pali Jataka-book. In the latter it is said that the tortoise, owing

[1] Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. III, Plate VII. *Cf.* Anderson, *Catalogue*, Part I, pp. 186 ff, M. 15-a.

to his imprudent speech, fell into the open courtyard and split in two[1], whereas in the Pañchatantra it is definitely stated that he was "made to pieces by the townspeople.'



Fig. 1. Fragment in Mathurā Museum.

Under the panel there are two letters which I read *Dasa* and which prove the sculpture to belong to the Kushaṇa period. In some *jātaka* scenes pictured on the Barāhat *stūpa* there is a considerable discrepancy in details between the sculptures and the canonical texts.[2] The same seems to be true of representations of birth-stories at Mathurā.

It remains to consider some decorative devices of Mathurā sculpture in which Gandhāra influence is even more clearly expressed than in illustrative bas-reliefs. Of special interest are the garland-carrying figures of Græco-Buddhist art, because here the classical prototype can be pointed out with certainty. In Gandhāra "they are represented on string courses, plinths or friezes, as boyish figures carrying garlands or playing between garlands. In the intervening portions lotus-flowers are sometimes introduced, or the intervals are filled in with symbols, animals or birds."[3] The two sculptures shown in figure 2 (ht 1′ ¼″, width 3′ 10″) which are preserved in the Peshāwar Museum are fine specimens of this decorative device. Here the intervals also contain Cupids holding lotus-flowers and palm-leaves.

Grünwedel was the first to point out that the same device in a modified form is found on the rail coping of the Amarāvatī *stūpa*. Here "the boys at play have turned into men who, bearing huge snake-like bodies, advance in studied and graceful attitudes." In the intervening spaces we notice purely Indian subjects such as the Garuḍa holding a Nāga in its beak. "Nothing," Fergusson remarks, "can well be better, as an architectural ornament, than the wavy flow of the long roll, borne by

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1 *The Jātaka* (ed. Fausböll), Vol. II, pp. 175ff. No. 215. English translation (ed. Cowell) Cambridge, 1895, Vol. II, pp. 123ff. Cf. *Pañchatantra* (ed. Kosegarten) Bonn, 1848, p. 76.

2 Oldenburg. *Notes on Buddhist art*, translated by Leo Wiener in J. A. O. S., Vol. XVIII (1897), p. 185, footnote 2.

3 Grünwedel-Burgess, *Buddhist Art in India*, p. 148. Foucher *op. cit.*, p. 140.

animated figures and interspersed with emblems appropriate to the dedication of the Tope."[1]

A connecting link between Gandhāra and Amarāvatī is afforded by Mathurā where we find the garland-carriers in an intermediate stage of their Indian development. The Mathurā Museum possesses five specimens of friezes exhibiting this design. The largest frieze (Pl. LIV, *b*; ht. 2′ 5½″) contains one figure, the head of which is lost. It wears ornaments like the Gandhāra figures, but of a more elaborate type. It is of interest to note that, whereas the Gandhāra Cupids, apart from their ornaments, have retained their classical nudity, those of Mathurā have donned the indigenous *dhōtī*. The open spaces between the garland are filled with palmettes and lotus-rosettes. The sculpture clearly betrays that tendency towards conventionalism and uniformity which is characteristic of Indian art.

Another sculpture in the Mathurā Museum (Pl. LIV, *c*; ht. 11″) has a double frieze; the lower one evidently represents Jātaka scenes. In the upper frieze we find

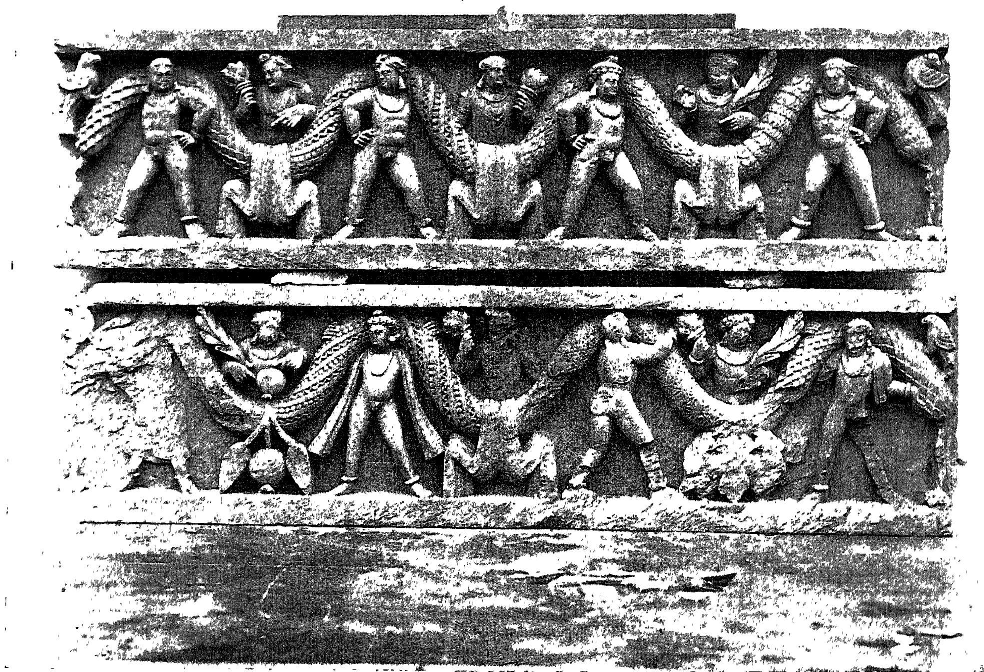


Fig. 2. Frieze in Peshāwar Museum.

again the garland-carrying figures. It is remarkable how here as at Amarāvatī all proportion is lost between these tiny figures and the heavy garland under the load of which they seem to succumb. On all Mathurā sculptures the Cupids are shown walking or running in one direction as is the case of Amarāvatī, whereas in Gandhāra they are standing alternately turned in opposite directions.

A comparison of the three types will clearly show how the Mathurā figures represent an intermediary stage and bear a character far less classical than their parents of Gandhāra, but at the same time much less Indianised than their degenerate descendants at Amarāvatī.

[1] Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 169, Plate LVI.

Among our Græco-Buddhist sculptures we possess several specimens of semi-circular or curvilinear bas-reliefs which must have formed the pediments of chapels. Of the two examples reproduced on Plate LV one (ht. 2′, width 2′ ½″) was obtained in 1902 from Bringan near Rustam (Peshāwar district) and is now preserved in the Peshāwar Museum. The other makes part of a collection in the Mission house at Peshāwar; its provenance is unknown.[1] We notice on the one from Bringan the Indo-Corinthian capitals each surmounted by a divine figure in the attitude of adoration and on the other a frieze of garland-carrying Cupids flanked by two double-domed chapels. The division of these pediments by means of concentric arches is purely Indian, for we find it on the pediments of chapels pictured on the Barāhat *stūpa*. But the figures which fill the various compartments are singularly classical in appearance.

The main scene which represents the submission of the Nāga king Apalāla[2] is of no special importance for our present subject. Of more interest are the two upper divisions, in which we find, in one case, Buddha's alms-bowl and Buddha himself, and in the other, two Bodhisattvas worshipped by a group of kneeling or standing figures, their hands folded in adoration. At the end of each group of worshippers there is a winged Triton—presumably meant for a Nāga—the coil of whose snake-like body effectively fills the narrow end of the lunulate space.

I now wish to draw attention to an interesting fragment among the collection in the Mathurā Museum (Cat. No. J 1; ht. 3′) reproduced on Plate LVI. From its shape and from its being carved on both sides it is evident that it did not serve the same purpose as the Gandhāra pediments. In any case there can be little doubt that its design is borrowed from the Gandhāra sculptures just described. On each side we find three lunulate areas separated by concentric arches.

On the obverse the centre of these three compartments is occupied respectively by the alms-bowl, apparently filled to the brim with offerings, a Buddha seated in the protecting attitude, and a Bōdhisattva in royal garments seated in meditation under a tree. On the reverse we have in the upper compartment Buddha's head dress, which, as we know, received the homage of the thirty-three gods, and in the central one a Bōdhisattva—perhaps Maitrēya, judging from the vessel in his left hand—, who raises his right hand in the conventional attitude of protection. Of the figure occupying the centre of the lowermost division, only a portion of the halo is preserved.

The worshipping figures are here divine or semi-divine beings flying, as indicated by the position of their legs, and carrying cabbage-like bouquets from which they are showering flowers. The classical Tritons in the corners are replaced by the indigenous crocodile, less ornamental, but more familiar to the Indian public. The connection between these animals and the crocodiles on the ends of *tōraṇa* beams of Barāhat is unmistakable.[3] We find the same device on a fragment of a *tōraṇa* architrave in the Mathurā Museum (Cat. No. M 2; ht. 7¾″).

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1 For other specimens *cf.* Grünwedel—Burgess, *Buddhist Art,* figs. 44, 58, and 83. See also p. 131. For the photographs of Gandhāra sculptures here reproduced I am indebted to the courtesy of Dr. Spooner.

2 *Cf.* Foucher, *op. cit.* pp. 544ff., figs. 270-275.

3 Cunningham. *The Stūpa of Bharhut.* Plate IX. *Cf.* also V. A. Smith, *The Jain Stūpa,* Plates XXIV and XXV.

On the Mathurā sculpture it almost gives the impression that the Dēvas are flying straight out of the yawning jaws of these monsters. This observation enables us—I believe—to explain a curious design found in later Indian art, namely, that of a human figure issuing from the mouth of a *makara*. Finally, we notice in the spandrel a Garuḍa treated in a highly conventional fashion, with short clumsy wings, a crooked beak, and the feathers of the tail spread out on both sides and ending in tendril-like scrolls. On the Gandhāra pediments we have, of course, nothing corresponding to these Garuḍas, but it is noteworthy that in Græco-Buddhist sculpture, the spandrels of arches are very often occupied by birds, apparently parrots, treated in a naturalistic manner. They will also be seen on the frieze of garland-carriers reproduced above.

With the sculpture in the Mathurā Museum may be compared the interesting sculpture excavated by Dr. Führer from the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā and discussed by Professor Bühler.[1] This sculpture evidently served the same purpose, but is much more elaborate and for this reason probably later in date. The division of the slab is in both cases exactly the same, but on that from the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā the dividing ribs are richly decorated with various floral designs, and the three lunulate spaces as well as the spandrels are crowded with figures of the most varied description. Besides flying celestials, we notice dragon-riders which contrast strangely with the homely country carts which take part in the procession. I recall, in passing, the Cupids riding on dragons which occur on the beautiful Nirvāṇa relief from Loriyān Tangai preserved in the Calcutta Museum.

In the corners we meet again with the ungainly shapes of the yawning crocodiles, but here a new element is introduced. In front of the unwieldly monster a boyish figure (in one case two) is standing, apparently teasing it by pulling its tongue. A similar device we find on a Mathurā sculpture in the Lucknow Museum where the teasing boy assumes the aspect of a *kiṁnara* with leafy girdle.[2] Professor Bühler remarks that a similar scene occurs on the Amarāvatī *stūpa* where, however, it is a female who takes hold of the *makara's* tongue. It is another proof of the indebtedness of Amarāvatī to Mathurā.

The central figures in the sculpture of Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā are unfortunately incomplete. But those which are partly preserved appear to be seated cross-legged on thrones and are attended by female fan-bearers. A comparison with the sculpture in the Mathurā Museum makes it highly probable that they are Buddhas and Bōdhisattvas, or, if Dr. Bühler is right in supposing the sculpture to be Jaina, they ought to be Tīrthaṁkaras.

(*To be continued.*)

J. PH. VOGEL.

[1] G. Bühler, *Specimens of Jaina Sculptures from Mathura. Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 319ff. Plate III.
[2] Foucher, *op. cit.* fig. 94. Burgess, *A. S. R., Southern India*, Vol. I. Plate XXVII, 6.



(*a*) PEDIMENT IN MISSION HOUSE, PESHAWAR.



(*b*) PEDIMENT FROM BRINGAN. PESHAWAR MUSEUM.

SCULPTURE IN MATHURĀ MUSEUM.



(a) OBVERSE.



(b) REVERSE.

MUHAMMADAN ARCHITECTURE IN KASHMIR.

BROADLY speaking, Muhammadan architecture in Srinagar seems to fall under three heads : first, there is the pre-Mug͟hal masonry style ; secondly, there is the wooden style ; and thirdly, the pure Mug͟hal style. Of the first there are very few examples. The best known is probably the tomb of Zainu-l-'ābidīn's mother,[1] regarding which Cunningham, Cole and Fergusson had a difference of opinion. Cunningham[2] and Cole[3] maintained that the enclosure wall of this building was once the enclosure wall of a Hindu temple. Fergusson[4] would have it that the wall was built entirely by Muhammadans, dating it about 1,000 years later. But the fact remains that Cunningham and Cole saw the building, while Fergusson did not : and nobody, I think, can observe the massiveness of the stones used, and their unmistakably ancient appearance without agreeing with Cunningham and Cole that the enclosure wall is an old Hindu wall *in situ*. If further evidence against Fergusson's theory is wanted, let me draw attention to the mouldings of the plinth—not included in Fergusson's woodcut—and to the section of the coping. Both of these features are essentially Hindu. Again, the plinth of the tomb of Zainu-l-'ābidīn's mother is obviously the actual plinth of an ancient Hindu temple, and the brick structure above it is a Muhammadan tomb of a common Persian type, adapted to the Hindu plinth. The *torus* moulding of this plinth is practically complete, and from the way the stone is jointed at the angles on the plan, it is quite certain that the plinth has never been appreciably disturbed. The small pointed arches in the enclosure wall which deceived Fergusson, only look like Muhammadan

[1] It may be of interest to note that the chronicler Jōnarāja in the second Rājataraṅgiṇī (V. 715) mentions Zainu-l-'ābidīn's mother by the name of Mērā Dēvī, perhaps meant for Mīrān ("Dēvī" being a Sanskrit title of queens or princesses), and calls her the daughter of Piruja (Firoz.) the King of S͟hāhbhaṅga. I do not know what country is meant by S͟hāhbhaṅga. The English translation by Dutt has Udabhāṇḍapura, which is the present Und or Ohind on the Indus, the capital of Gandhāra at the time of the early Muhammadan invasions. As the ruling dynasty was known by the name of S͟hāhi, it is just possible that the name Udaka-bhāṇḍa has become corrupted into S͟hāhbhaṅga. It would be interesting if it could be ascertained from Muhammadan sources whether there existed a King Fīrōz, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Kashmir at the time of Sikandar Buts͟hikan. [J. Ph. Vogel.]

[2] *J. A. S. B.*, 1848, part 2.

[3] H. H. Cole. *Illustrations of ancient buildings in Kashmir.*

[4] J. Fergusson. *History of Indian Architecture*, p. 281.

work on a drawing in elevation, because the depth of the recesses and the size of the stones is not shown[1]. They are in reality quite unlike anything I have seen in any Muhammadan building in India. It may be added that there are several large stones bearing Hindu carvings and mutilated sculptures lying about in the courtyard, and these stones, in all probability, belong to the former Hindu building which occupied the site, and which was demolished by the Muhammadans in the 15th century, when the tomb of Zainu-l-'ābidīn's mother was built.

The manner in which the Muhammadans adapted their structure to the Hindu plinth was simple. The usual form of plan used in Muhammadan tombs of this date is shown in fig. 1. The plan of the plinth which they found ready to hand in this case

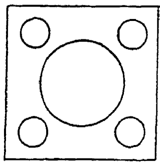


Fig. 1.

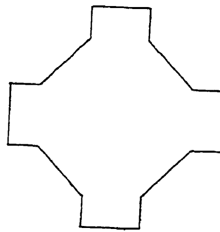


Fig. 2.

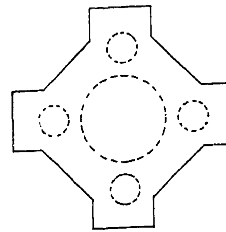


Fig. 3.

was that shown in fig. 2. It will be seen at a glance that, given the plan, fig. 2, to build upon, it required no great ingenuity to fit in the four small cupolas and the large central dome to which the Muhammadans were accustomed (fig. 3). It was, in fact, so easy that they did not bother to alter the shape of the plinth at all.

It has already been mentioned that the brick structure on the Hindu plinth is the tomb of Zainu-l-'ābidīn's mother. She was the wife of Sikandar Butshikan, who stands out as one of the most prominent figures among early Muhammadan rulers of Kashmir, and whose importance is rivalled only by that of his son Zainu-l-'ābidīn. Sikandar earned his nickname by his wholesale destruction of Hindu temples. Zainu-l-'ābidīn was evidently a more tolerant person[2]; indeed, there is a story that after having been cured of some disease by a Hindu doctor, he gave orders that no further persecution of the Hindus should be permitted. His grave is said to be one of those within the disputed enclosure wall, close to the building over his mother's grave. The latter is a valuable monument since it is the only one of its kind near Srinagar.

Its principal features are the glazed and moulded blue bricks, fig. 4, which are studded at intervals in the exterior walls, the semicircular brick projections on the drum of the main dome, and the moulded brick string courses and sunk panels on the drums of the cupolas.

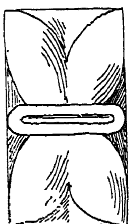


Fig. 4.

There is one other pre-Mughal building in Srinagar which deserves to be mentioned here. The tomb of Madanī is a small building quite neglected and very dilapidated, and it does not appear to be included in the accounts of any traveller or archæologist. Yet it possesses a feature of extraordinary value and interest in its coloured tilework, fragments of which are still adhering to its walls. I have found no other such tilework in Srinagar, and it is quite different from that which is commonly seen in India, though similar tiles exist

[1] Similar niches with pointed arches have been found among the Gupta remains at Sārnāth. [Ed.]

[2] Zainu-l-'ābidīn seems to have been a particularly tolerant ruler. This is evident from the praise bestowed on him by the authors of the 2nd and 3rd Rājataraṅgiṇī. They assert that he even visited Hindu places of pilgrimage. [J. Ph. Vogel.]

on the mosque of Zakariya K͟hān near Lahore, and on a Hindu shrine opposite the Salīmgaṛh at Delhi. The latter evidently did not originally belong to the Hindu temple, as the patterns are all jumbled together. Glazed and coloured tilework, as is well known, was introduced largely into India, probably from Persia, by the Mug͟hals. Akbar employed it sparingly in Agra Fort and at Fatḥpur Sīkrī; Jahāngīr employed it more elaborately at Sikandarah, on some of the cupolas on Akbar's tomb, and in S͟hāh Jahān's time it was lavishly employed, particularly in the Punjab.

The tilework of the Mug͟hals was almost invariably cut in small irregular shapes according to the different colours in the flowers or ornaments which the tilework represented. That is to say, the outlines of the colours in the flowers or ornaments settled the shape to which each tile was to be cut, and the pieces were put together like mosaic, and stuck on the walls in mortar.

Another kind of tilework has its home in Multan and Sind. This tilework is also glazed and coloured, and was largely used in Pathan buildings before the advent of the Mug͟hals. It is distinguished from the so-called '*Kashi*' work used by the Mug͟hals, in that the Multan variety is cut always in squares, and different colours are worked in contact with each other on the same square. In the old tiles hardly any colours were used but light and dark blue, and sometimes yellow and brown.

The tilework at the tomb of Madanī, near But Kadal in Srinagar, is made in squares with various brilliant colours in contact with each other on the same piece of tile. But its great interest lies in the subject which is represented in the southern half of the spandrel of the great archway in the east façade (Pl. LVII). It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that animal life was rarely represented in any form of decoration during Muhammadan rule in India. Akbar did not object to statues of horses[1] and elephants[2]; Jahāngīr allowed birds [3] and butterflies[4] to be carved, and S͟hāh Jahān also had elephants[5] set up, and at Lahore Fort he indulged in a panelled frieze representing elephant fights, and other subjects, all in tilework. Aurangzeb was a bigot, who not only would have none of animal life in any form on his buildings, but took a delight in smashing any instances of it which came to his notice whether on Hindu or Muhammadan buildings. It is fortunate indeed that he never chanced to see the tomb of Madanī when he was in Srinagar. His indignation would surely have been roused at finding, on the tomb of a Muhammadan saint, a representation of a beast with the body of a leopard, changing at the neck into the trunk of a human being, shooting apparently with a bow and arrow at its own tail, while a fox is quietly looking on among flowers and cloud-forms. These peculiar cloud-forms are common in Chinese and Persian art, and were frequently used by the Mug͟hals—by Akbar in the Turkish Sultāna's house at Fatḥpur-Sīkrī, Jahāngīr at Sikandarah, and S͟hāh Jahān in the Dīwān-i-k͟hāṣṣ at Delhi, to mention only a few instances. The principal beast in the picture is about four feet long, and is striking quite an heraldic attitude. The chest, shoulders, and head of the human being are unfortunately missing. The tail ends in a kind of dragon's head. As for the colours, the background is blue,

[1] Statue of a horse near Sikandarah, Agra.
[2] Hatya Paul, Fatehpur Sikri and Delhi gate, Agra Fort.
[3] Akbar's tomb at Sikandarah.
[4] Ditto.
[5] Hatya Paul, Delhi Fort.

the trunk of the man is red, the leopard's body is yellow with light green spots, the dragon's head and the fox are reddish brown, and the flowers are of various colours. It is most probable that if this beast can be run to earth, and similar pictures found in the art of other countries, some light will be thrown upon the influences bearing upon the architecture of Kashmir during a period about which little is at present known. Besides this spandrel there is more tilework in the building. The jambs of the archway are lined with squares of tiles, many of which have fallen out and been put back in the wrong place. None of these are of particular interest except that they show that tilework was used on masonry buildings in Kashmir before Mughal days. There is, however, an interesting narrow border, above the dado on the east façade, representing a flowing floral pattern interwoven with the heads of donkeys and lions.

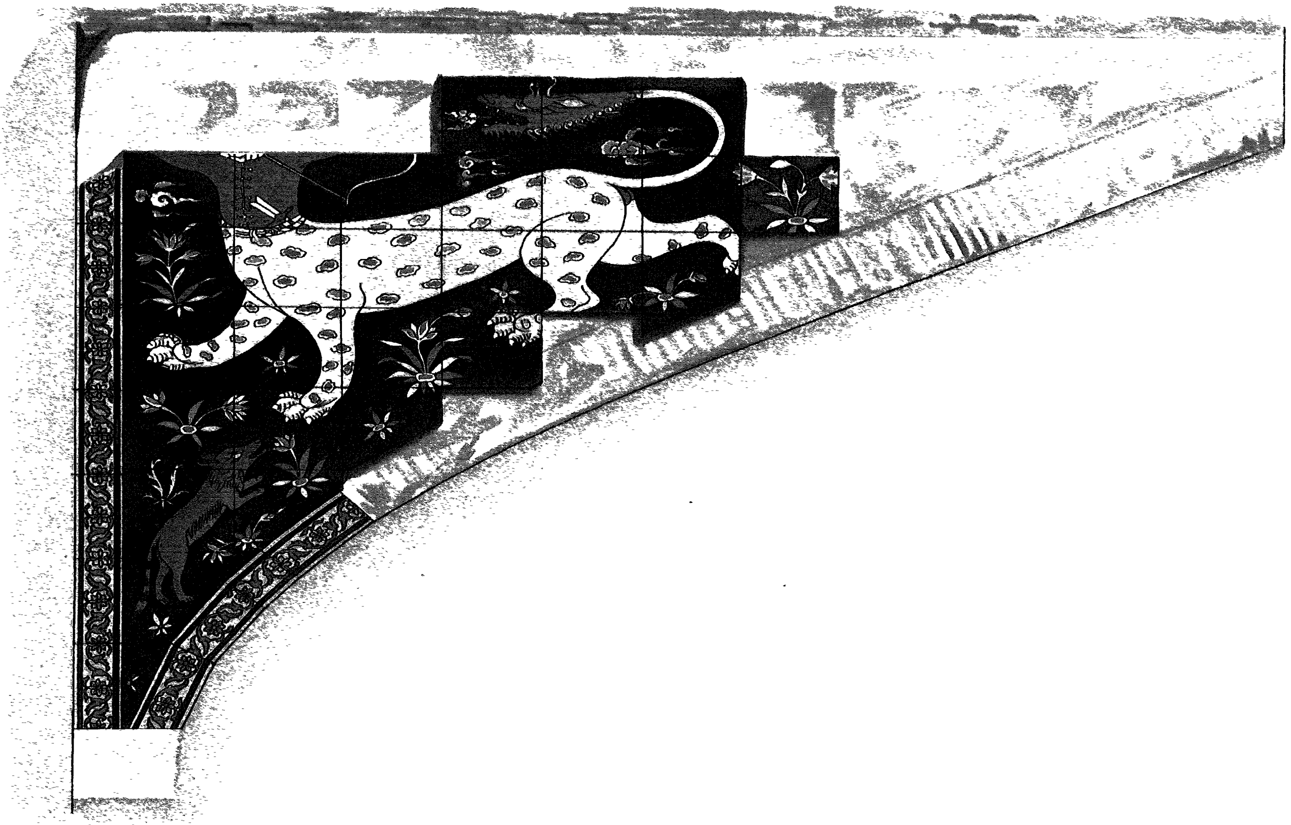
We are fortunate in knowing within narrow limits the date of this building. It joins on to the mosque of Madanī, a building the roof of which is in the wooden style which will be discussed presently. As both the buildings are in memory of the same person it is likely that they were built about the same time, and a well-preserved inscription over the doorway of the mosque records that it was built in the year A. H. 848 (A.D. 1444). Plate LIX. This falls within the reign of Zainu-l-ʻābidīn.

Apart from its tilework, the tomb of Madanī possesses no particular value. It is evident that both it and the mosque are built on the site of an old Hindu temple. The stone plinth of the mosque is put together with Hindu stones, and the brick work in the walls is Muhammadan. Some carved Hindu columns have been used in the porch of the mosque, and two similar columns are used in the inner chamber of the tomb—another indication that the tomb and mosque are of the same date since columns from apparently the same Hindu temple are used in each of them.

Although Kashmir possesses a very distinctive style of wooden architecture, practically nothing is known about it by the outside world. Brief descriptions of some of the principal buildings are given by the travellers Bernier,[1] Vigne,[2] Hügel,[3] Moorcroft[4] and Löwenthal[5] ; but these accounts being unaccompanied by illustrations, and written by men whose attention was mainly devoted to subjects other than architecture, convey but a feeble impression of the reality. Fergusson,[6] though he never visited Kashmir, shrewdly suspected from enquiries that he made, and from the few photographs which he was able to obtain, that the subject of its wooden architecture was one deserving full investigation. Cunningham[7] and Cole[8] in their accounts of antiquities in Kashmir dealt almost exclusively with Hindu and Buddhist monuments, and left the wooden style, exemplified in the more modern buildings, practically unnoticed.

Having before us a clear field it will be worth while to consider the conditions under which the style was evolved or introduced. The consistent use of Saracenic detail, and the fact that the style was and is still applied to Muhammadan tombs and mosques, and not to Hindu structures, indicates in the first place that much of its

[1] François Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul empire.* Edited by A. Constable, 1891.
[2] G. T. Vigne, *Travels in Kashmir, Ladak, etc.*
[3] C. F. Hügel, *Travels* trans. by Major Jervis.
[4] Moorcroft and Trebeck, *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces.*
[5] J. Löwenthal, *Some Persian inscriptions found in Srinagar. J. A. S. B.* Vol. XXXIII, p. 278, (1864).
[6] J. Fergusson, *History of Indian Architecture.*
[7] *J. A. S. B.* September 1848, part 2.
[8] H. H. Cole, *Illustrations of ancient buildings in Kashmir,* 1869.



TOMB OF MADANĪ: TILEWORK ON SPANDREL OF ARCH AT ENTRANCE.



MOSQUE OF MADANĪ: GENERAL VIEW.

character was introduced into Kashmir from abroad ; and, secondly, that it came into use in Kashmir with or subsequent to the invasion of Islam. Although Islam was not widely accepted in Kashmir until the latter part of the 14th century A. D[1]., the chronicle of Kalhaṇa indicates that there was a certain amount of trade intercourse and pilgrimage between Kashmir and Upper India during the reign of Ananta, A. D. 1028-1063.

During one of the campaigns of Maḥmūd of Ghazni—Dr. Stein thinks it was the campaign of A. D. 1013—, auxiliary forces were sent from Kashmir to help to withstand the invasion of Hindustan.[2] Maḥmūd won the day, the battle being fought "in one of the valleys leading towards Kashmir from the neighbourhood of the Jhelum",[3] but he does not appear to have ever come into Kashmir.

In A. D. 1532 the invasion of Mirzā Ḥaidar from Ladak "forms part of the great movement which carried the last wave of the northern conquerors, the Turks of Babar, into India."[4] Mirzā Ḥaidar took possession of Kashmir in A. D. 1540, and the next important historical event was the incorporation of Kashmir into the Mughal dominions by Akbar in A. D. 1586.

We learn from a passage in the Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī, which Dr. Stein quotes,[5] that a wooden style existed in Kashmir in the days of Zainu-l-'ābidīn, A.D. 1420-1470, since reference is made to a palace, all of wood, which that monarch built. It is also evident that Akbar found the Kashmiris more accustomed to building in wood than stone, since it is recorded in an inscription over the Kathi Darwāza of Hari Parbat that Akbar sent two hundred masons from India to build the fort. Bernier[6] A. D. 1665, says "some old buildings and a great number of ancient idol temples in ruins are of stone; but wood is preferred on account of its cheapness, and the facility with which it is brought from the mountains by means of so many small rivers".

The earliest genuine example of the wooden style in Srinagar, of which the date is known, is the mosque of Madanī, which was converted into a mosque from a Hindu temple in A. D. 1444, according to an inscription. Although the Hindu temple which occupied the site of the present Jāmi' Masjid was destroyed shortly after the Muhammadan conversion, and a mosque erected in its stead, that mosque and subsequent reproductions of it have been burned down and rebuilt several times. Similar visitations have befallen the mosque of Shāh Hamadān and others. It is therefore impossible to say to what extent the original form and details were copied in the various restorations. According to the inscription over the south doorway of the Jāmi' Masjid, the mosque was last rebuilt by Aurangzeb. There is reason to suspect that he copied what was there before fairly closely, because the building is totally different from anything that Auranzgeb can have seen in the plains of India; and it is quite certain that the present Jāmi' Masjid is not a first experiment in a new direction. The lofty pillars in the propylons, the details of the spires and the uniformity of the whole design, prove that the builders knew what they were about from plinth to finial

[1] Rājataraṅgiṇī of Kalhaṇa transl. M. A. Stein. Vol. I, p. 284.

[2] *Op. cit.*

[3] *Op. cit.*

[4] *Op.cit.*

[5] *Op. cit.*

[6] Bernier, *Travels in the Moghul empire*, p. 398.

—that they were reproducing forms of which they were masters, and were not evolving a fresh style as they went along.

Most of the woodwork in the mosque of Shāh Hamadān has such a fresh appearance, the fibres being so little worn, that it is difficult to believe that it has not been to a great extent restored within the last fifty years. The richly carved wooden plinth looks very much older, but how much older I cannot presume to say.

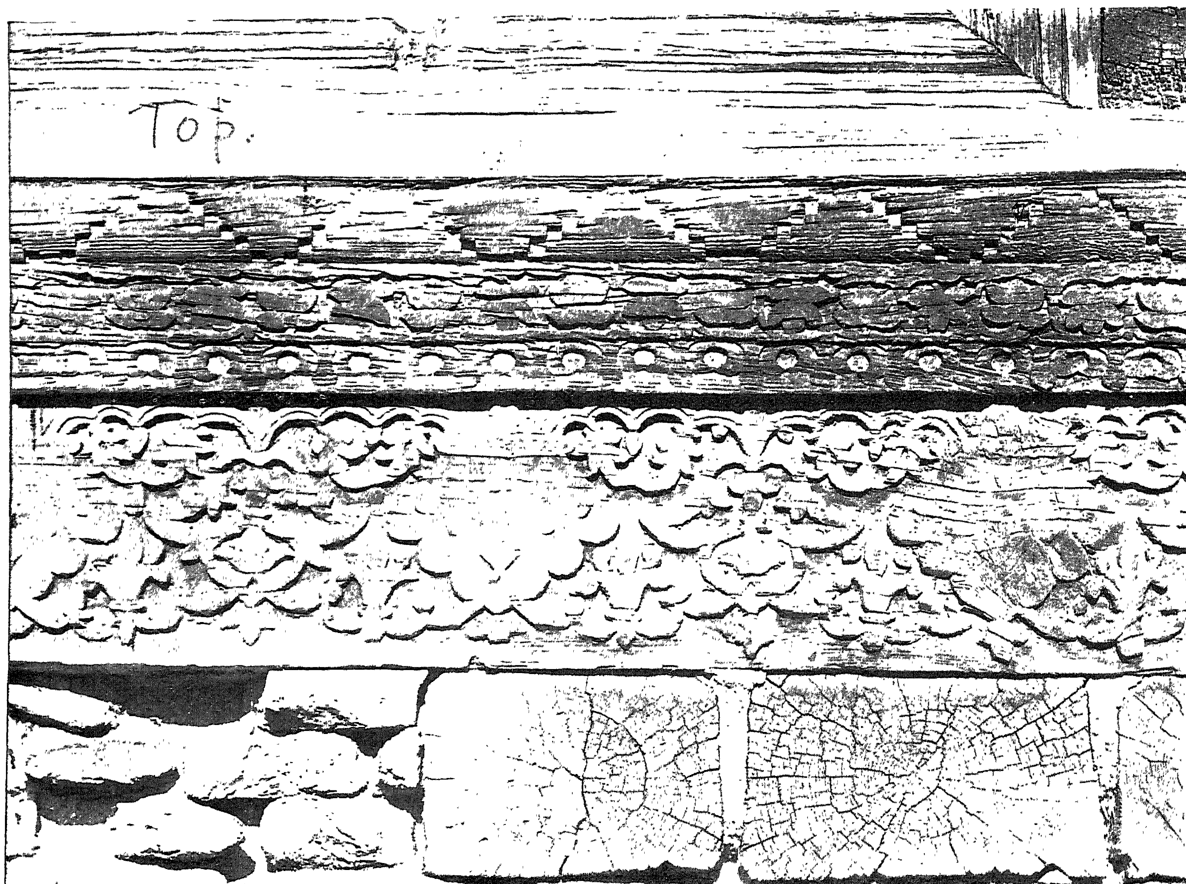


Fig. 5.

It is a significant fact that the heavy corbelled cornice at Shāh Hamadān's mosque should bear a strong resemblance to that of the mosque of Madanī and a similar little mosque at Pampur, both of which have an ancient and genuine appearance; and it is therefore fair to assume that the mosque of Shāh Hamadān is, in spite of its restorations, still a truthful example of the style—except of course in certain minor details such as modern turned balusters, mirror work and paint of the vulgar Sikh style.

There are many other buildings of the same style in or near Srinagar, but the few which have been mentioned contain all the chief features of the style.

To the travellers Hügel and Löwenthal the wooden style of Kashmir suggested a Chinese origin. Fergusson[1] thought the crowning ornament of Shāh Hamadān's mosque "evidently a reminiscence of a Buddhist Tee." In another passage[2] Fergusson remarks upon the similarity between the wooden temples, situated between Kashmir and Nepal, and the wooden architecture of Scandinavia. No one who has travelled in

[1] Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 608.

[2] *Ibidem*, p. 308.

Norway and Kashmir can have failed to notice this similarity. But when the wooden buildings of the two countries are compared in detail, it is difficult to seize upon any feature which points conclusively to a common origin or direct connection between them, and it would be rash to deny that the characteristics which the two countries share in common such as methods of laying logs horizontally, stepped roofs, and the employment of birch bark and turf as a roof covering, might well have been independently evolved in countries where pine-wood is the staple building material, and where much the same considerations have to be paid to climatic conditions. It is remarkable that the dragon, which plays such an important part in Chinese and Persian art, and which is the prevailing motif in numerous examples of Norwegian wood-carving and metal work, should reappear on the spandrel of the entrance to the tomb of Madanī at Srinagar.

On the other hand, there are undoubtedly marked similarities between the art of Kashmir and Afghanistan, if the famous old doors of Maḥmūd's tomb, which were erected at Ghaznī and are now kept in Agra Fort, may be taken as a fair sample of the latter. Judging from the close resemblance in style and detail between the distinctive patterns on these doors (Pls. LX and LXI) and those of the mosques of Madanī (Pl. LIX) and of Amir at Pampur, it would not be unreasonable to suspect that the wooden style of Kashmir owes much of its character to influence from the quarter of Ghaznī.

The mosques and tombs of the wooden Kashmiri style are so similar that their features need not be separately discussed. The tombs are square in plan (fig. 6). The mosques are either self-contained square buildings like the tombs—such are the mosques of Madanī, S͟hāh Hamadān (where the cloisters were added later) and the Jāmiʿ Masjid at Pampur: or else they consist of a group of square planned buildings connected together by a colonnade, like the Jāmiʿ Masjid in Srinagar (fig. 7.)

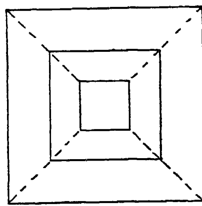


Fig. 6.

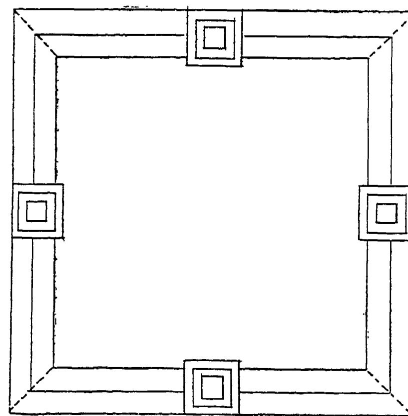


Fig. 7.

The walls are constructed sometimes of brick and mortar, sometimes of logs laid across each other, the spaces between the logs being in some cases filled with brickwork. Piers are also constructed of timber in the same way. (Figs. 8 to 10.)

In large chambers where the timbers of the roof or ceiling require intermediate support, wooden columns are used with very good effect. Sometimes these columns are elaborately ornamented, and there is a tendency in modern restorations, as for instance at the mosque of Naqs͟hband, to cover the capitals and bases with coarse

and unsuitable ornament. Timber trusses do not seem to have been understood by the ancient builders, but they are now employed in restoration. The old method of supporting the rafters was by building up piers formed of logs laid horizontally—a very extravagant arrangement (Pl. LXX). The typical roof covering consists of turf laid on birchbark, which retains waterproof properties for a great number of years. The birchbark is laid on boards and these in turn are supported on rafters. The roof is usually surmounted by a steeple, the finial of which is moulded, the largest moulding being sometimes in the shape of an outspread umbrella, usually covered with metal. All the older buildings appear either to have lost their steeples and finials, or to have had them restored. The oldest umbrella mouldings are probably some of those on the Jāmiʿ Masjid at Srinagar, erected in the reign of Aurangzeb. (Pl. LXIII.)

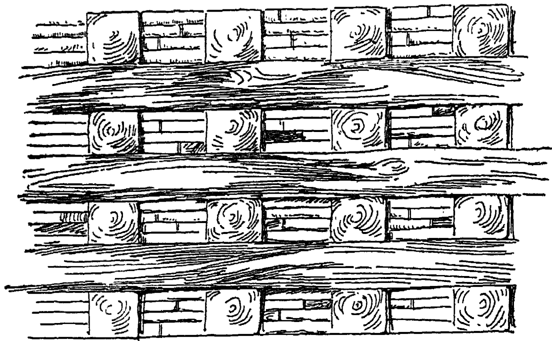


Fig. 8.

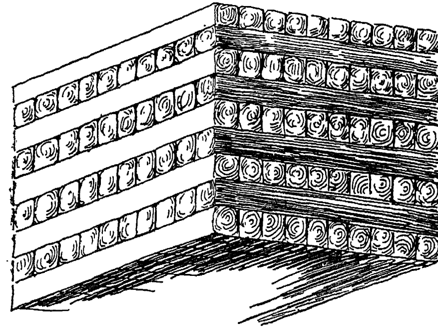


Fig. 9.

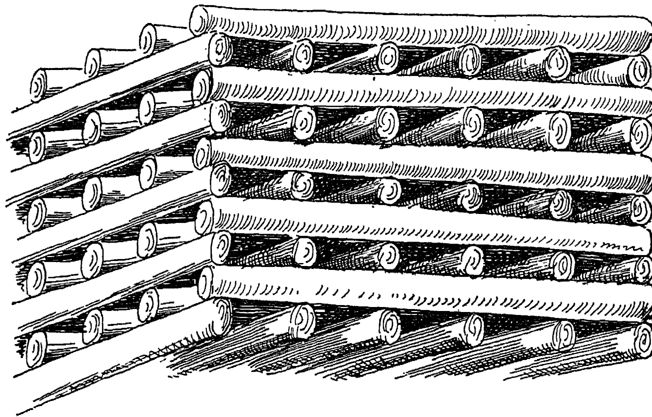


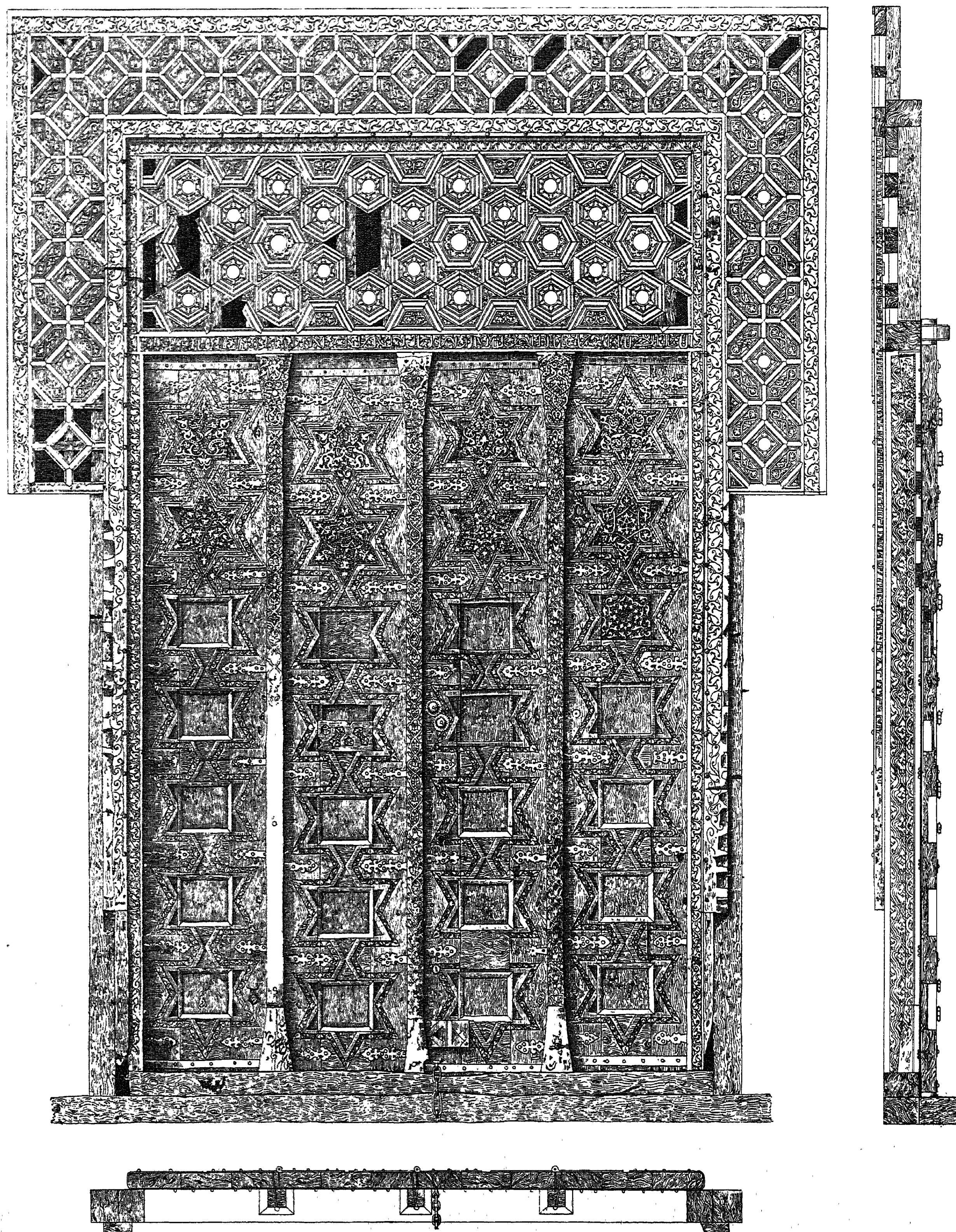
Fig. 10.

A remarkable feature in the steeples is the sloping gable which projects from the sides (Pl. LXIV). Window openings and balustrades are commonly filled with elaborate *jali* screens, the patterns of which are formed by little pieces of wood fitted together so as to form geometrical patterns.

The angles of the eaves are generally ornamented with wooden pendants suspended from the corners, carved like little bells and shaped like cactus leaves (Pl. LXVI). The cornices are very heavy and are formed of logs corbelled out from the wall face on timbers laid crosswise. The butt-ends of the cross timbers form a dentil course, and the space between them is filled with elaborate carving. The best examples are at the mosques of Madanī in Srinagar and of Amir in Pampur (Pl. LXXI).



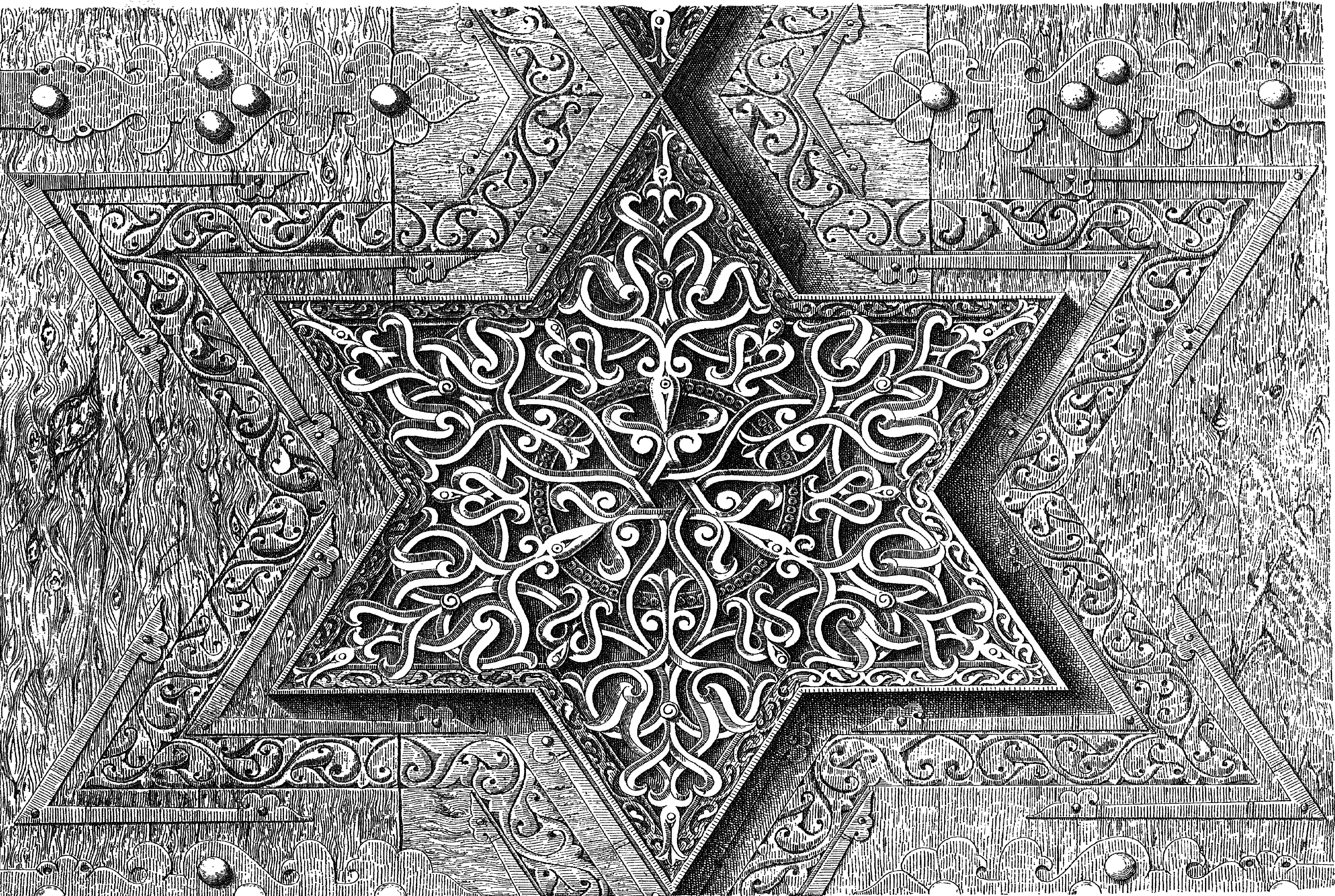
DOORS AT THE MOSQUE OF MADANĪ.



SCALE

INCHES 12 9 6 3 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 FEET

DOORS FROM THE TOMB OF MAHMUD OF GHAZNI: ELEVATION



INCHES 12 9 6 3 0

DOORS FROM THE TOMB OF MAHMUD OF GHAZNI: DETAILS.



Scale of Feet

A

Baradari

Tank

channel

channel

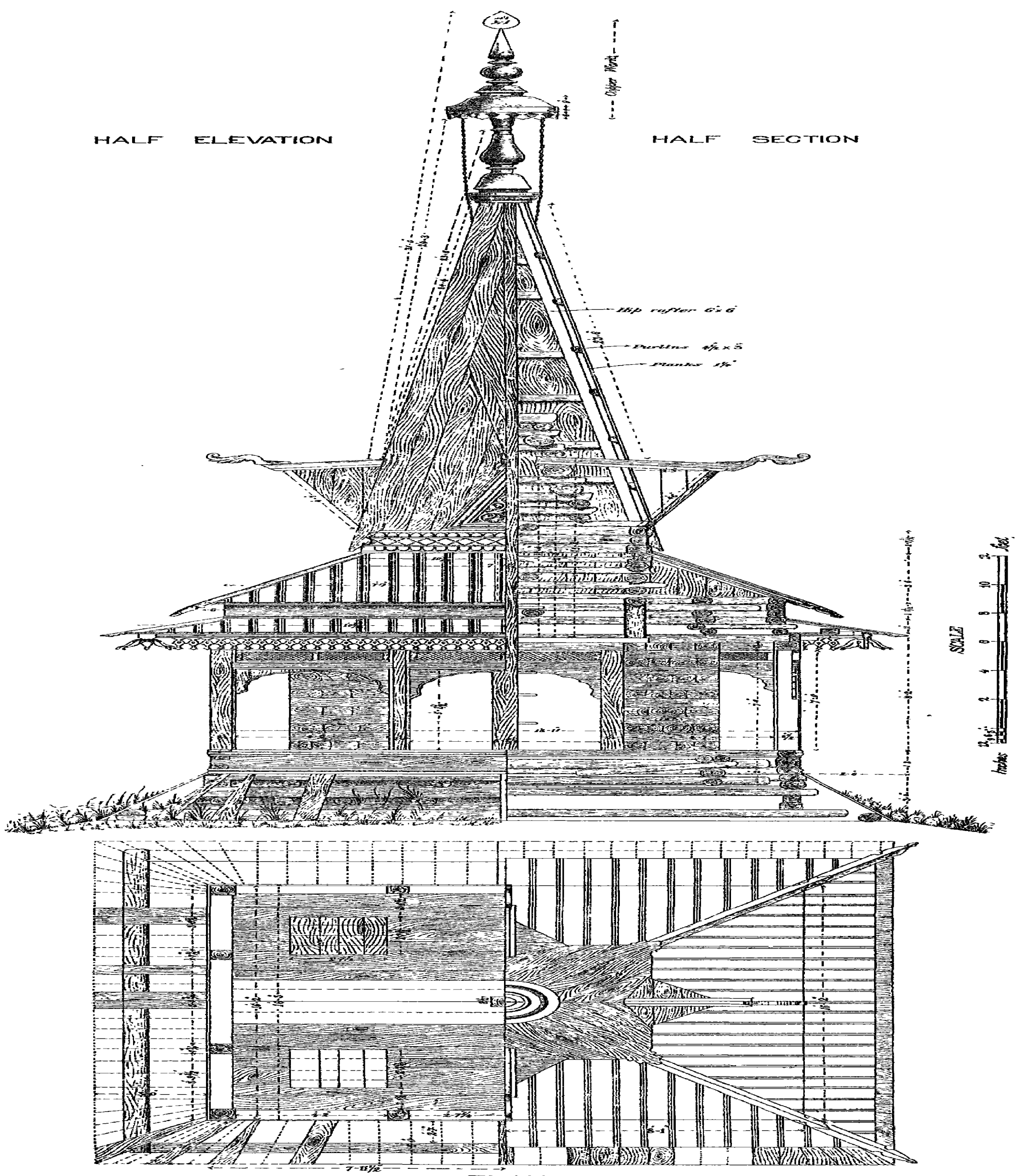
channel

road

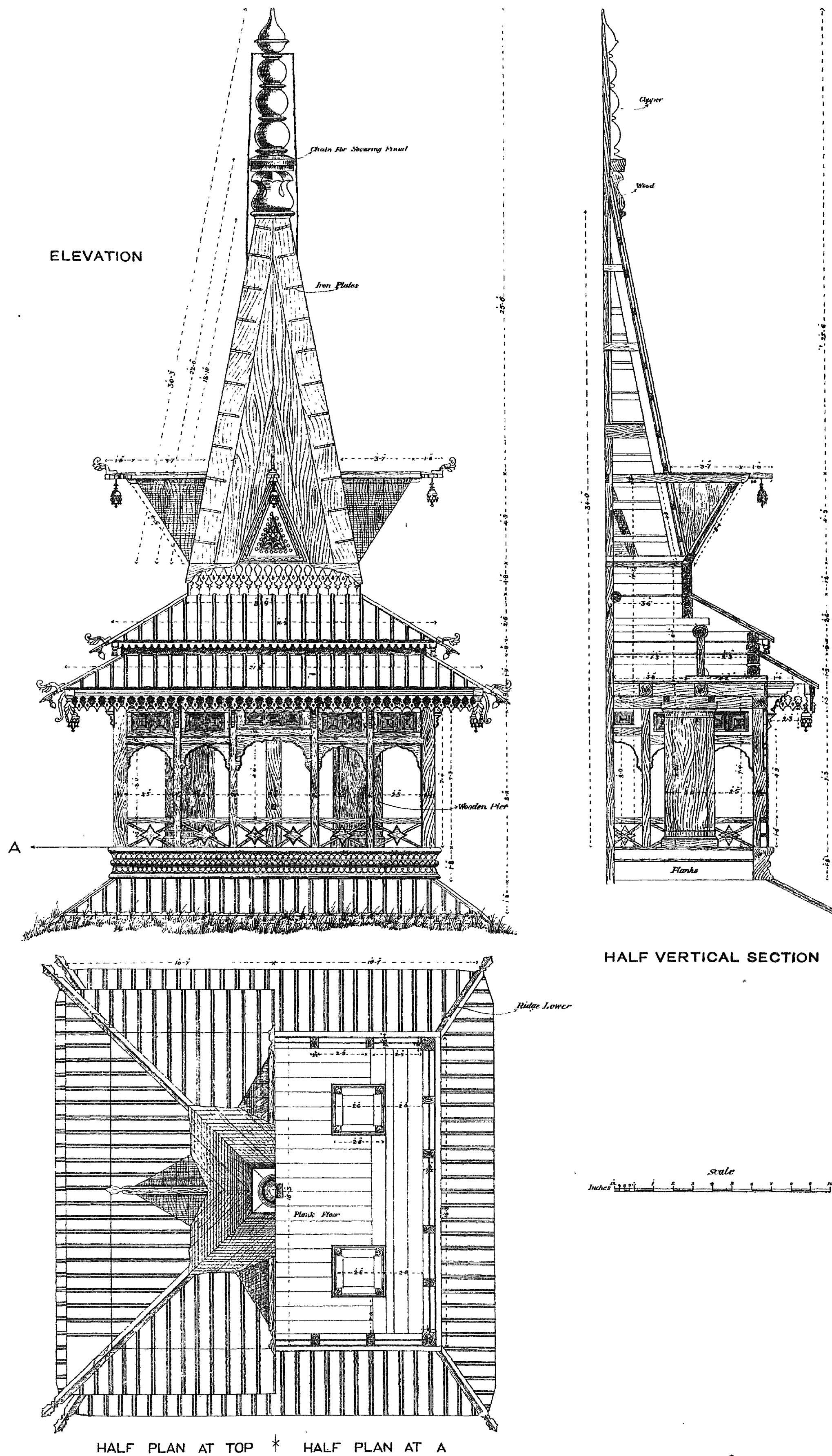
road

ENTRANCE

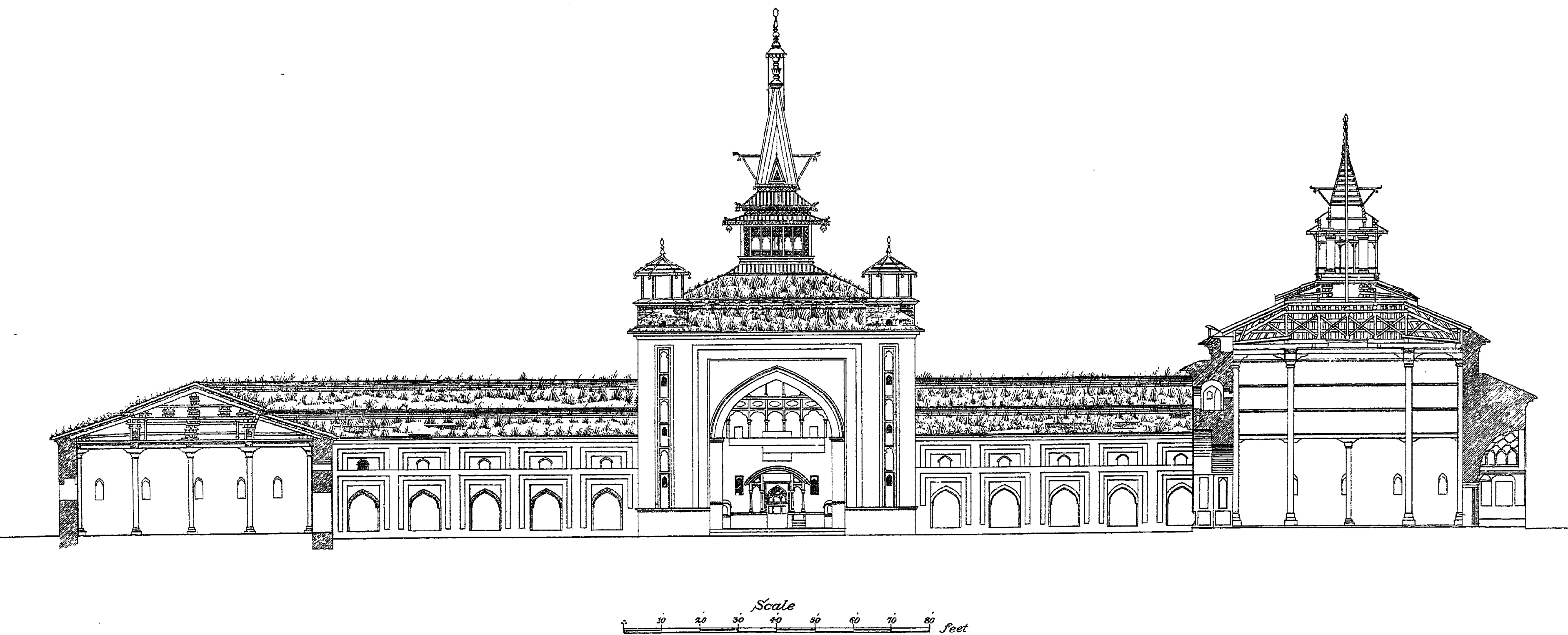
JĀMI MASJID: GROUND PLAN.



JĀMI MASJID: DETAIL OF SOUTH SPIRE.



JÂMI MASJID: DETAIL OF NORTH SPIRE.



JĀMI MASJID: SECTION A--A (VIDE GROUND PLAN.)

Detail of Pendant

Half Elevation Half Section

Plan at Top

Detail of Jali work Panel

Elevation

Section on A.A

Detail of Bracket on Corner

Side Elevation

End Elevation

Side Elevation

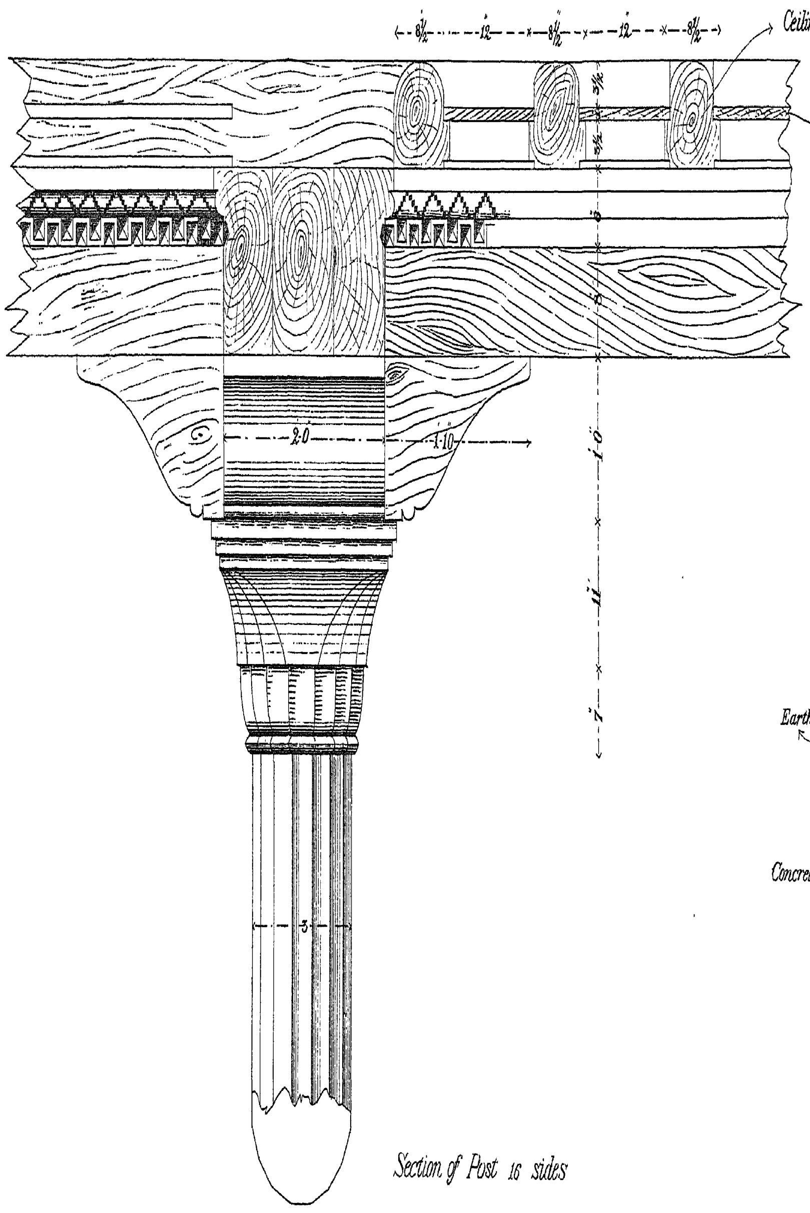
End Elevation

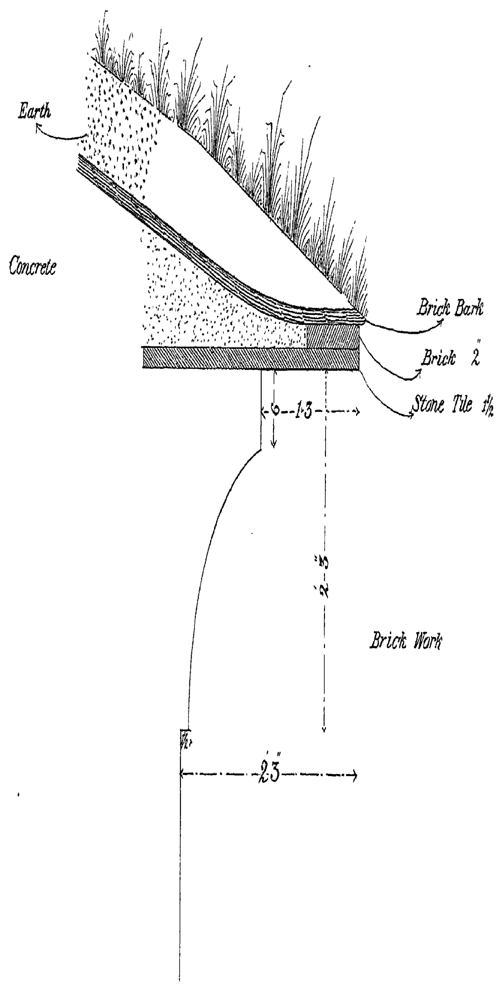
Chamfer ½

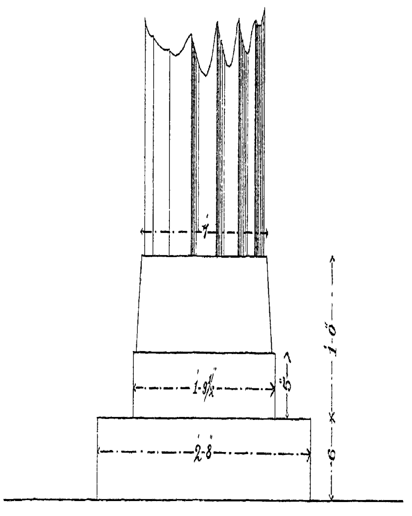
Detail of Bracket

JĀMI MASJID: CARVED ORNAMENT.

PLATE LXVI.



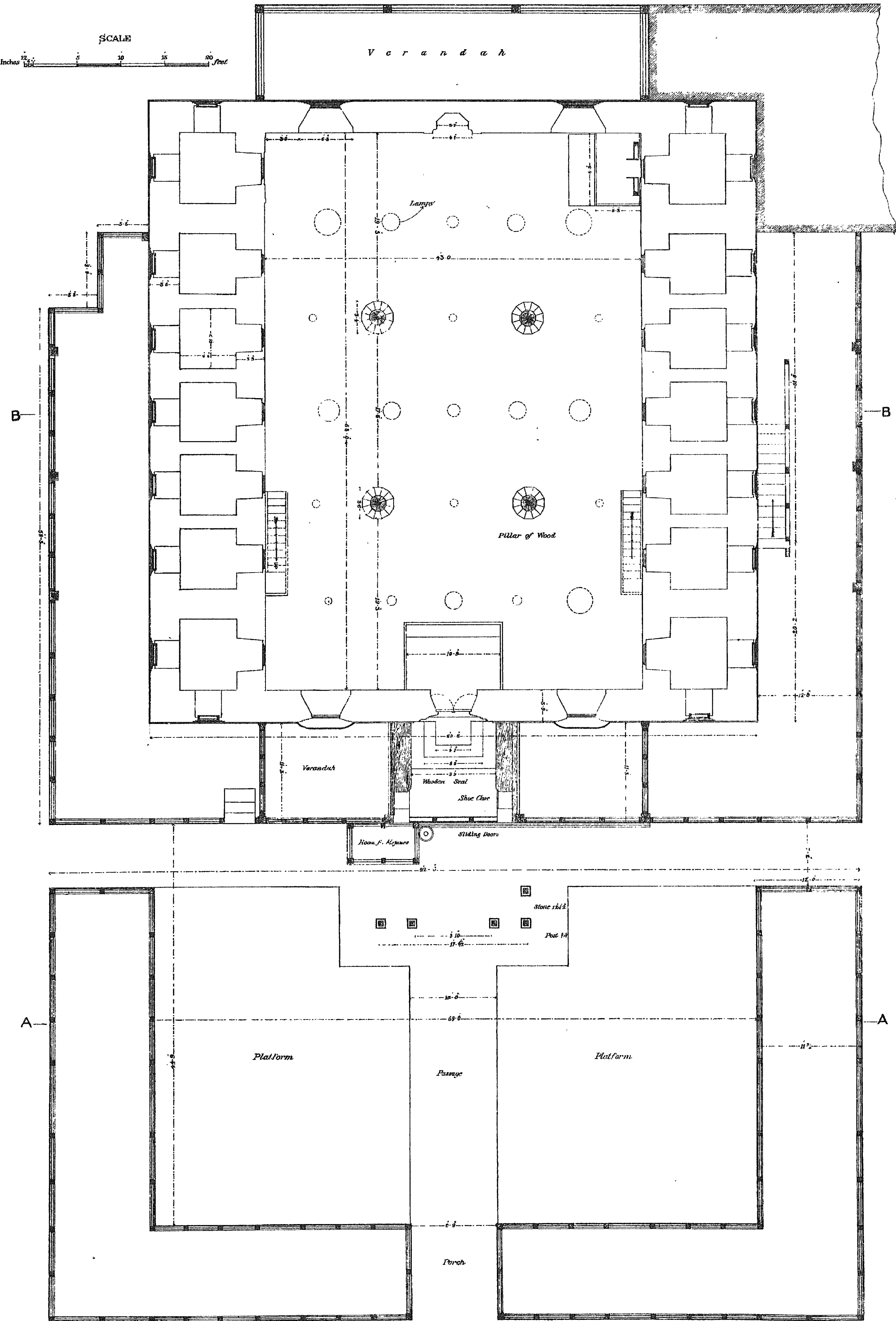




JÁMI MASJID: DETAIL OF COLUMN AND EAVES.

PLATE LXVII.

MUHAMMADAN ARCHITECTURE IN KASHMIR.

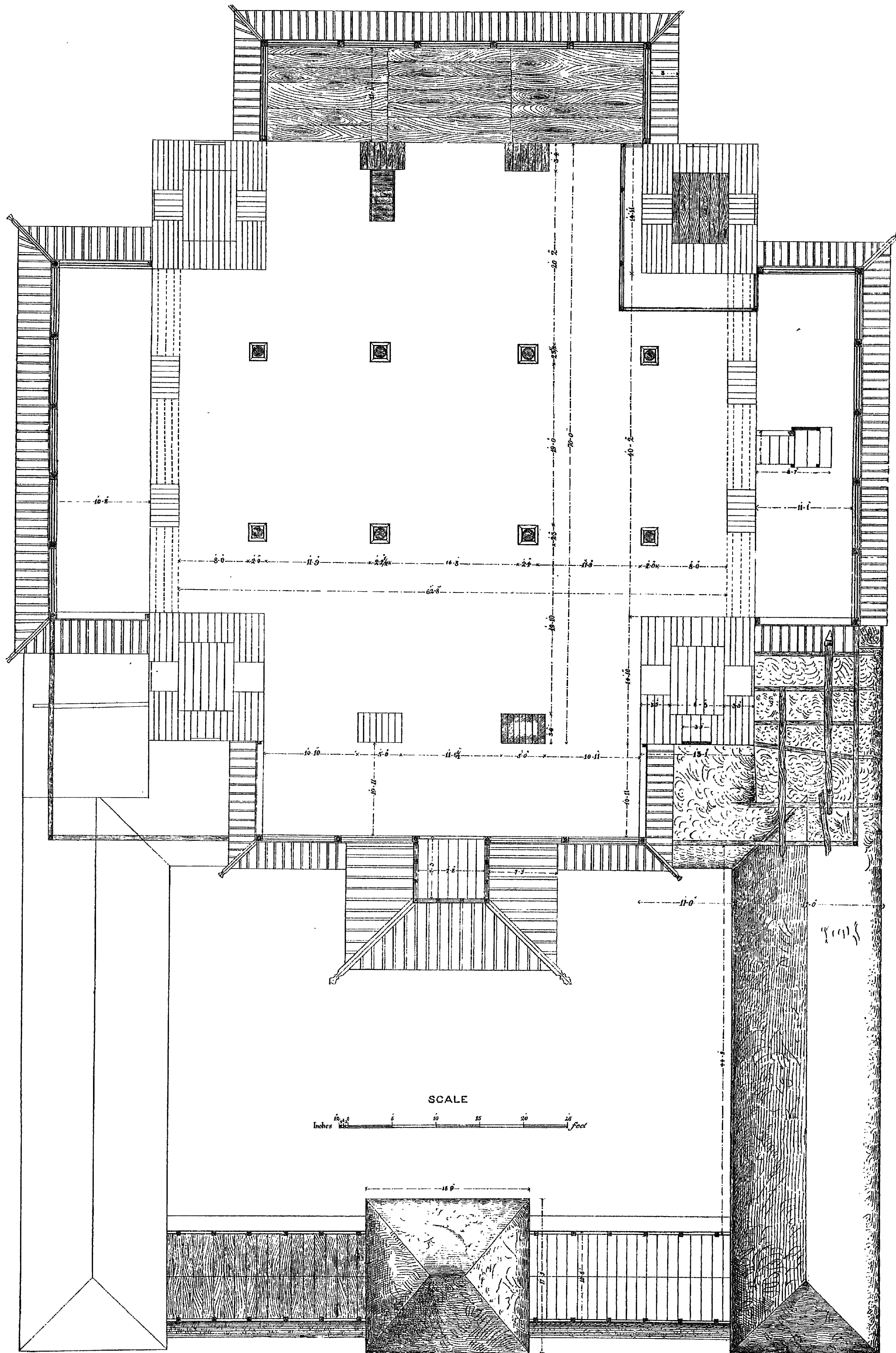


MOSQUE OF SHĀH HAMADĀN: GROUND PLAN.

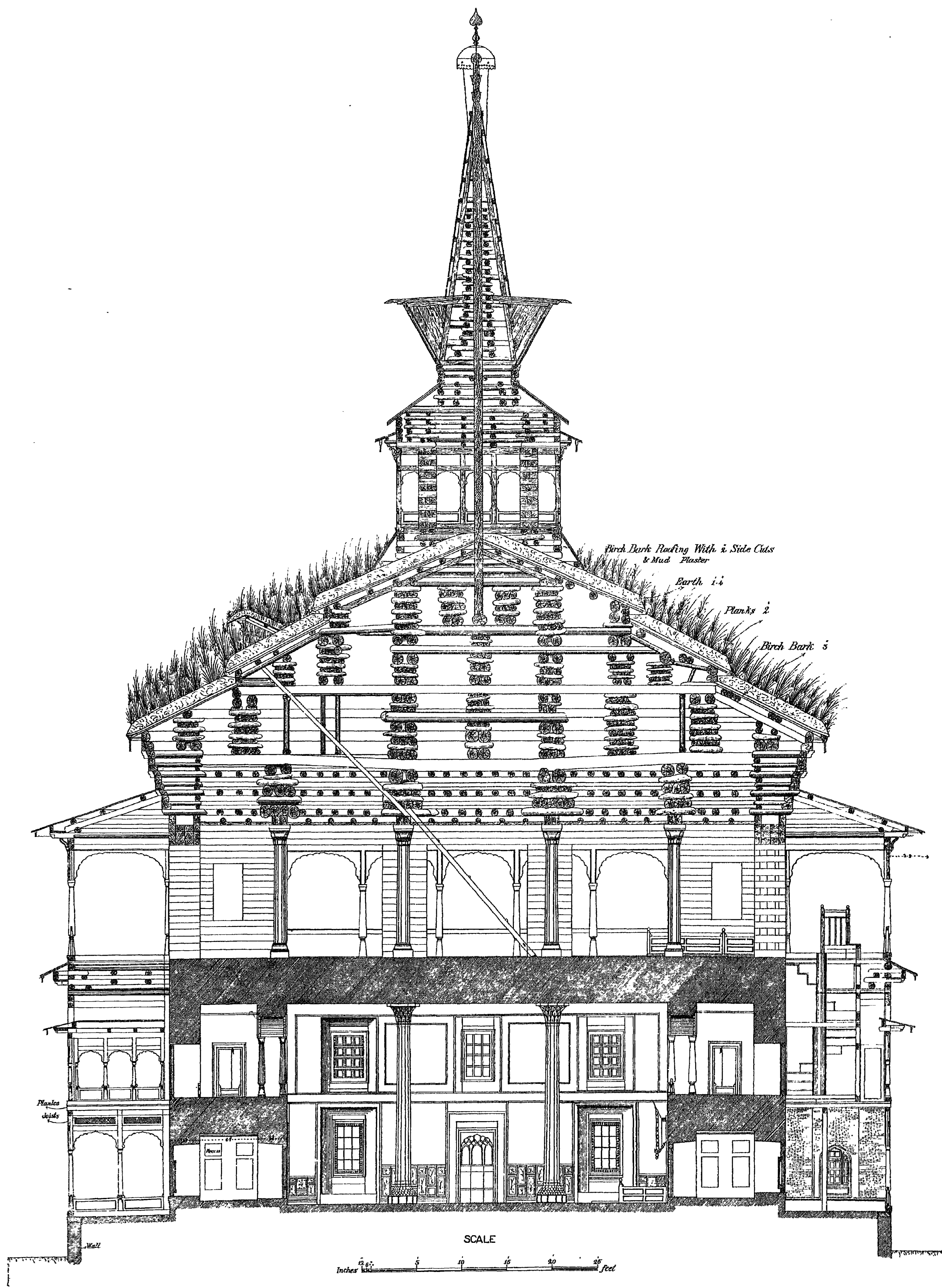


SCALE

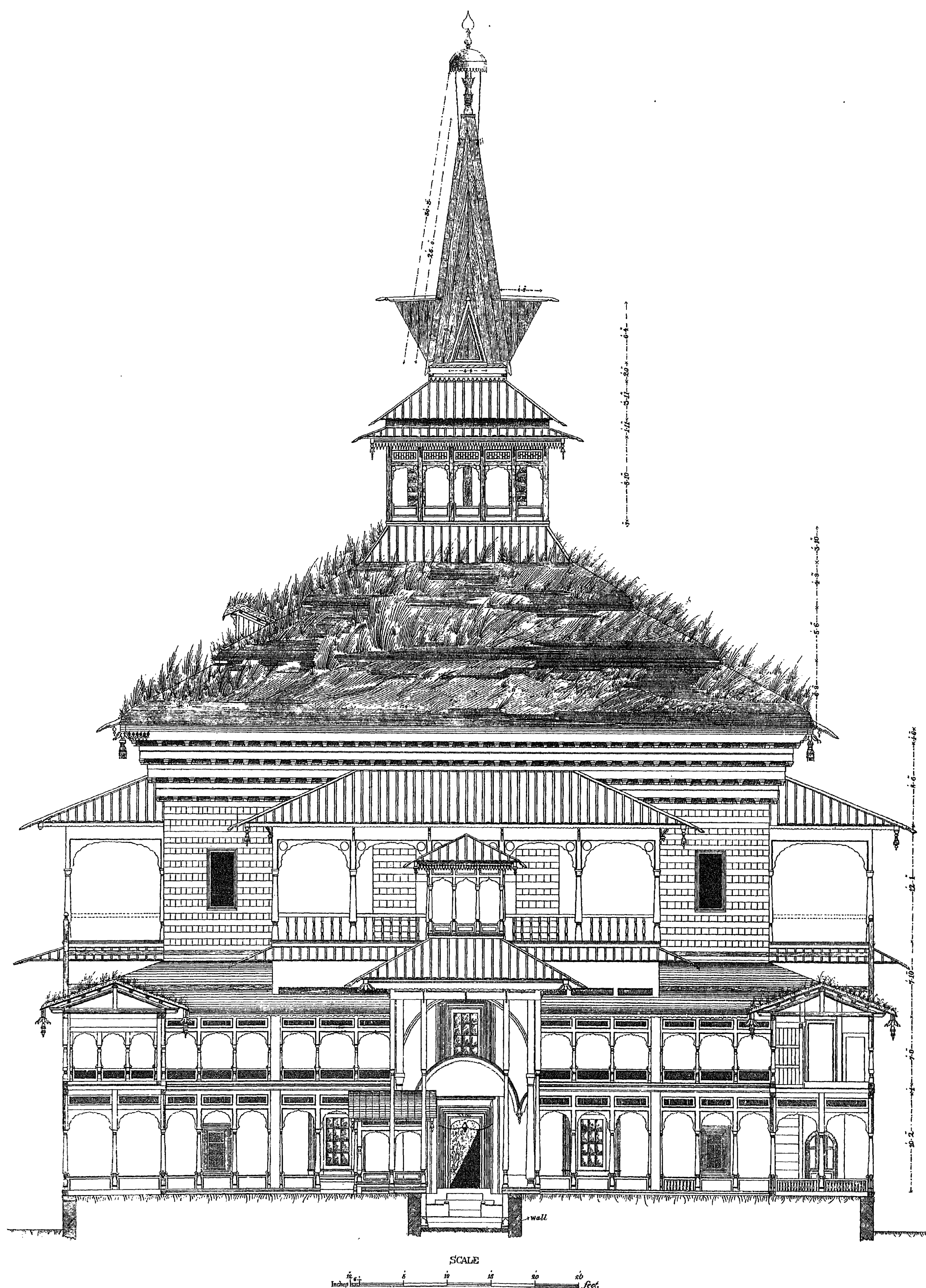
Inches 12 6 0 5 10 15 20 25 feet



MOSQUE OF SHĀH HAMADĀN: PLAN OF FIRST FLOOR.



MOSQUE OF SHÂH HAMADÂN: CROSS SECTION.



MOSQUE OF SHĀH HAMADĀN: MAIN ELEVATION.

The interior of the mosque of S̲h̲āh Hamadān is entirely covered with panelling consisting of geometrical patterns (Pl. LXXII).

The mouldings are as a rule flat, not deeply recessed, and curved and hollow members seem to be avoided. They generally consist of flat or nearly flat fillets, each of which is differently carved.

The carved ornament is generally Saracenic in character. In the older buildings the patterns are conventional. In some later restorations realistic flowers are carved, bearing much resemblance to the stone work of S̲h̲āh Jahān in the Tāj at Agra and elsewhere.

Of the Mug̲h̲al style as exemplified by buildings in Kashmir it is not necessary to say much, because the style is practically the same as that with which we are familiar at Agra, Delhi and Lahore. The only differences which suggest themselves are that a local grey limestone was generally used in Kashmir for facework ; while white marble, owing no doubt to the difficulties of transport, is hardly ever seen. The only instances of white marble and inlay which I have seen near Srinagar are in the tomb of Tug-i-bābā, a building of uncertain date, but decidedly Mug̲h̲al. Here white marble is used in one of the grave stones, the corners of which end in the characteristic bed posts, which are found in the tomb of S̲h̲āh Burhān at Chiniot and other places in the plains of India. Here too there is a beautiful medallion inlaid with cornelian and other precious stones over the entrance doorway.

The grey limestone which was used in the Pattar Masjid,[1] the mosque of Āk̲h̲ūn Mullā S̲h̲āh, and the pavilions in the formal gardens, is a splendid building material for mouldings, carving and hard wear, and the Mug̲h̲al workmen evidently found no difficulty in working upon it all the details which they commonly used in India.

Although the stone buildings of the Mug̲h̲al period in Kashmir are few in number, there are among them some of the finest examples of the style anywhere to be seen. They have all been sadly neglected, and in certain cases are still employed for improper purposes, and their conservation is a most desirable object. The Pattar Masjid, the mosque of Āk̲h̲ūn Mullā S̲h̲āh, and the large *bāradarī* in S̲h̲ālimār Bāg̲h̲ are unsurpassed in purity of style and perfection of detail by any buildings in Agra or Delhi, and they are all the more precious in Srinagar because of the scarcity of other remains of the Mug̲h̲al days.

The earliest Mug̲h̲al building in Srinagar is the outer wall round the fort, Hari Parbat, which was built by Akbar. One gateway still remains in good condition, but the wall has to a great extent crumbled away. It is probable that Akbar had some sort of fortress erected on the hill, but there is practically nothing of the original work left.

To Jahāngīr's reign we owe the Pattar Masjid, a large mosque of the usual shape. It has lost its domes, and the courtyard is now enclosed by store-houses, but what remains of the prayer chamber is well worthy of preservation.

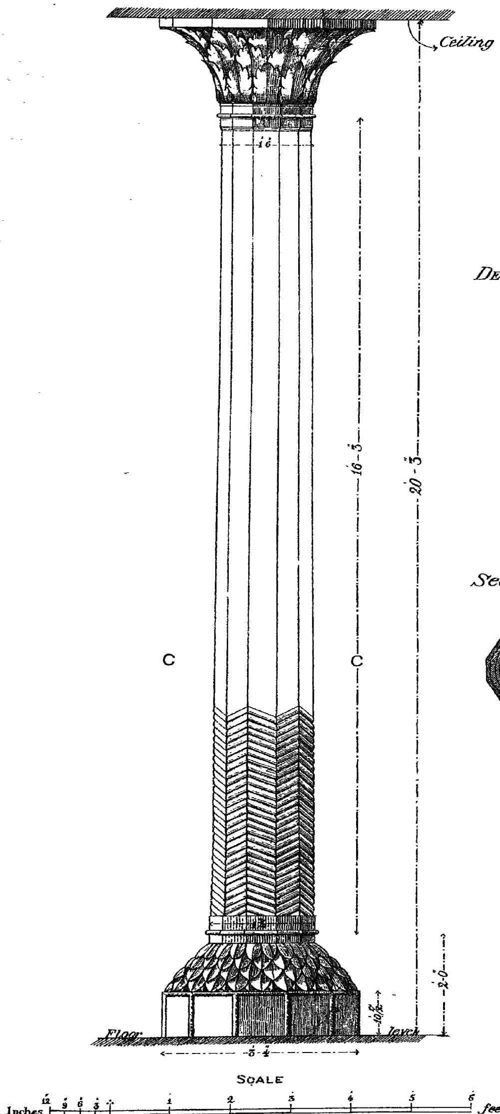
The mosque of Āk̲h̲ūn Mullā S̲h̲āh is a building of slightly later date, in much the same condition. Its plan is singular, the design of the prayer chamber being

[1] The Pattar Masjid is used as a grain store, and the mosque of Āk̲h̲ūn Mullā S̲h̲āh is filled with gunpowder. The tomb of Zainu-l-ʿābidīn's mother, a pre-Mug̲h̲al building possessing archæological value, is also used as a grain store.

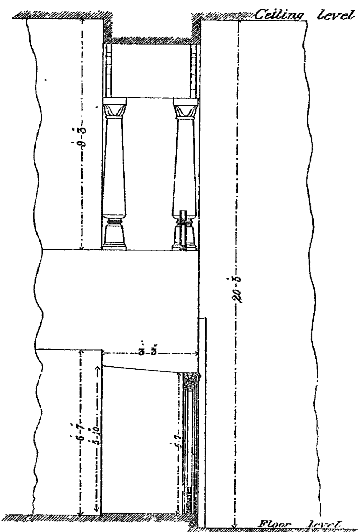
repeated on the east side of the courtyard, and forming the gateway. On the north and south sides of the courtyard are arcades, treated in the same way as the wings of the prayer chamber. Usually the arcades round the quadrangle in front of a mosque are treated quite differently from any part of the prayer chamber. The somewhat cramped proportions of the courtyard in this case may be due to the slope of the hill on which it stands, and the difficulty which would have been experienced in making the prayer chamber wider.

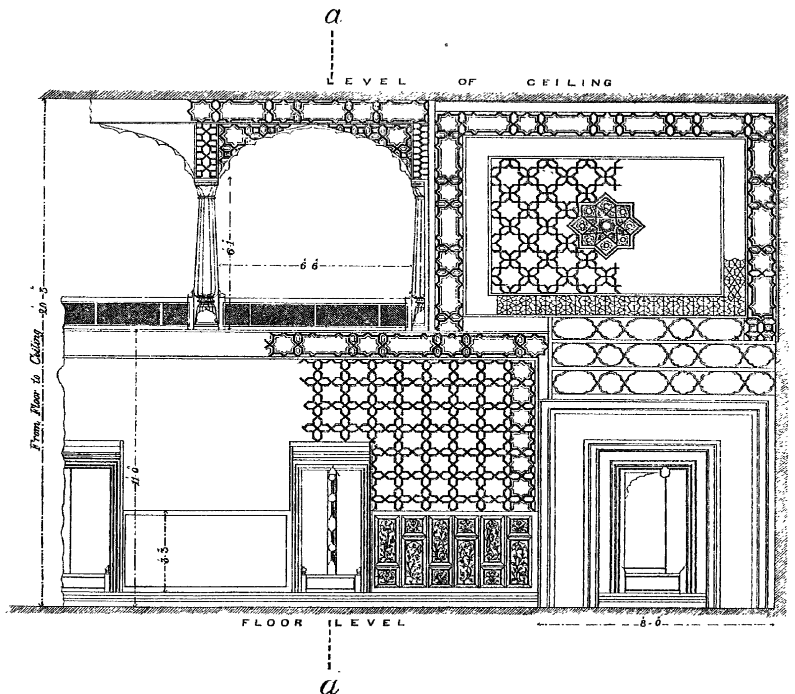
Another important branch of architecture in which the Mug̲h̲als excelled, and in which they have left their mark upon Srinagar, is formal gardening. Though the Dhal Lake was, in the days of Jahāngīr and S̲h̲āh Jahān, fringed with a great number of extensive gardens, only three of them retain any vestiges of their former splendour. These are S̲h̲ālimār Bāg̲h̲, Nis̲h̲āt Bāg̲h̲, and Chasmas S̲h̲āhi. The garden of Jahāngīr at Aitchibal and the octagonal enclosure which he built round the spring at Vernāg are in much the same condition. These gardens conform strictly to the style of S̲h̲ālimār Bāg̲h̲ at Lahore and Delhi, and other gardens of the same period in India; but nowhere is there to be found a group comprising so many examples as at Srinagar.

W. H. NICHOLLS.









MOSQUE OF SHĀH HAMADĀN: DETAIL OF PILLAR AND PANELLING ON INTERIOR WALLS.

THE TEMPLE OF BRAHMĀ AT KHEḌ-BRAHMA.

THE worship of Brahmā is very rare, and temples dedicated to him are few, indeed, and far between ; and, for this reason alone, his shrines are interesting objects when met with.

It is not necessary to explain here at length who Brahmā is, or was, for it is presumed that most readers are familiar enough with the triple-headed deity. But for the uninitiated I may say that Brahmā is not to be confused with Brahma, the supreme self-existent impersonal spirit, of which the deities Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva are manifestations, and from which all created things are supposed to emanate. In this triad of principal gods Brahmā embodies the idea of creation, Vishṇu preservation, and Śiva destruction or dissolution. Half human and half divine, they are credited with the fears and passions of ordinary beings, their actions and achievements partaking of the miraculous nature of their divinity. According to Manu, Brahma first created the waters, and deposited within them a seed which became a golden egg, from which sprung Brahmā. He is also said to have sprung from a lotus that issued from the navel of Vishṇu, which has always formed a favourite subject for the sculptor. Nārāyaṇa is represented reclining at full length upon the folds of the serpent Śesha, with his head supported upon his right hand, as may be seen in the photograph in Fig. 2, p. 114 of *A. S. R.* for 1905-6.



Fig. 1.

The most characteristic feature of the images of Brahmā is his four-faced head. It is true that in most images only three are shown, but these are they which are in relief upon walls and other surfaces where the fourth face at the back, cannot be shown. The reason for his many faces, or, more correctly, many heads, is variously

given. One is that they represent the four *vēdas*, which are supposed to have originated with him. But in the *Purāṇas* he is even said to have had five heads. The Matsya *Purāṇa* accounts for his five heads in this wise : " Brahmā next formed, from his own immaculate substance, a female who is celebrated under the names of Śatarūpā Sāvitrī, Sarasvatī, Gāyatrī and Brahmāṇī. Beholding his daughter, born from his body, Brahmā became wounded with the arrows of love, and exclaimed, 'How surpassingly lovely she is ! ' Śatarūpā turned to the right side from his gaze ; but as Brahmā wished to look after her, a second head issued from his body. As she passed to the left, and behind him, to avoid his amorous glances, two other heads successively appeared. At length she sprang into the sky ; and as Brahmā was anxious to gaze after her there, a fifth head was immediately formed ". Another account tells us he was born within the golden egg with five heads. It was not long however before he lost one. He and Vishṇu having entered into a hot dispute as to who was supreme, a third rival, Śiva, appeared upon the scene and asserted his pre-eminence over them both. This moved Brahmā to anger and angry words, and, having abused Śiva to his face, the latter caused one of his five heads—the offending one—to be struck off.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

One reason that is given for Brahmā not being now worshipped is the curse pronounced upon him at the time of this contention between him and Vishṇu as to which was the greater. Śiva, in all his glory, suddenly appeared before their dazzled eyes when the altercation was at its height, and claimed supremacy over both of them. To prove it he caused his *liṅga* to appear, and then challenged the two gods to find either the top or bottom of it. Vishṇu, as a boar, burrowed down into the lower regions in search of its root, while Brahmā took unto himself wings and searched the heavens. Neither were successful, yet Brahmā concocted a lie saying he had reached the top, and, being found out, was cursed : " since thou hast childishly and with weak understanding asserted a falsehood, let no one henceforth perform worship to thee ".[1] " The cessation, therefore, of Brahmā's worship appears to have taken place during the interval that may have elapsed between the composition, or extraction from the *Vēdas*, of the *Upanishads* and the compilation of the *Purāṇas* ; for in these last works no mention occurs of either rites or ceremonies or festivals, or temples[2] or holy places being dedicated to Brahmā, nor in them is there recorded a single legend to attest and magnify his divine power.[3]

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[1] *Skanda Purāṇa.*
[2] Except at Pushkara, now Pōkur near Ajmer.
[3] Kennedy's *Hindu Mythology*, p. 281.

In sculpture Brahmā is portrayed in various ways. The most common, in relief upon temple walls, represents him as a man with three faces, the fourth, as said before, being engaged with the wall and therefore not seen. Each face is bearded and moustached, and the hair is generally done up in rolls high upon the head. The only other deity who wears a beard is Yama, the Pluto of the Hindu Pantheon.[1]

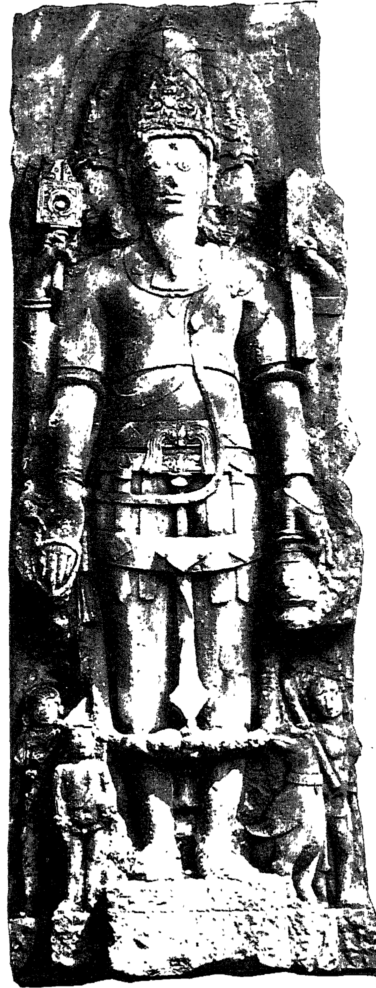


Fig. 4.

Brahmā has four arms, two of which, one on either side, are held in an upright position from the elbows, while the other two rest upon the knees when sitting, or straight down by his side when standing. In the right upper hand he holds the sacrificial ladle, in the left upper a book, probably one of the *Vēdas* ; in his right lower he passes the *mālā*, or beaded rosary, through his fingers, and holds the water pot in the corresponding hand on the left side. He is furnished with the sacred thread, which passes over his left shoulder. Beneath him, or down to one side, will usually be found the sacred goose, his *vāhana* or vehicle. He is thus seen in the image standing near the village at Supārā near Bombay (fig. 4). Sometimes but one of the three faces is bearded, as seen in fig. 3 ; while, again, in most of the earlier images before the 11th or 12th centuries he is found with no beard at all, as may be seen in the sculpture from Aihoḷē in the Bijāpur district (fig. 2). In this image he holds the water pot in his left upper hand, while allowing his left lower to fall upon his thigh, palm outward and empty.

One of the most commonly occurring positions in which we find Brahmā is above shrine doorways, where, with Śiva and Vishṇu, he forms a triad of the principal gods. Just above the lowest band of the door lintel are usually three or more little niches in a row. The central one is occupied by the god to whom the shrine is dedicated, the other two, one on either side, are filled with the remaining two, Brahmā usually being placed on the right of the central figure. He is sometimes, but not often, found among the deities in the principal belt of figure sculpture running round the walls of a temple. When the latter has an inner shrine, with a *pradakshiṇā* or circumambulatory passage passing round it, between it and the outer walls, the inner walls often have a large niche in each of its three sides, south, west and north, when the temple faces east, in each of which is placed one figure of the triad. As a separate image for special worship, he is not often met with. A very interesting and old one in brass or some mixed metal, measuring 3 feet 2 inches high, was, three years ago, dug up in a field in the Thar and Pārkar district of Sind. The head has four faces without beards, but

[1] Śani, one of the Nava-graha, is personified as a man with a beard.

only two arms, which fact indicates considerable age. The hands are now empty, but, from their position and the way the fingers are held, I would think that the right held a book and the left a *mālā* or possibly a water pot. At the Kailāsa excavation at Elura are life-sized representations of Brahmā, Śiva and Vishṇu, standing side by side with their *vāhanas*, in which Brahmā is shown with three beardless faces.[1] Amongst the cave scupltures there is a favourite subject, the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī, where Brahmā appears as the officiating priest, kneeling beside the ceremonial fire.[2] There is a panel of the same subject, from a very old temple at Ratanpur in the Central Provinces. Another somewhat rarer sculpture, in which Brahmā is portrayed, is that representing the contention of the three gods, as described above, where Brahmā is represented in mid-air near the top of the *liṅga*. Vishṇu as a boar burrows below. A good illustration of this occurs upon the old temple of Virūpāksha at Paṭṭadakal in the Bijāpur district. He occurs sometimes upon Jaina temples. On an old temple at Sēvādi, in the Jodhpur State, he is found with but two hands and bearded. In his hands are the *mālā* and water pot.

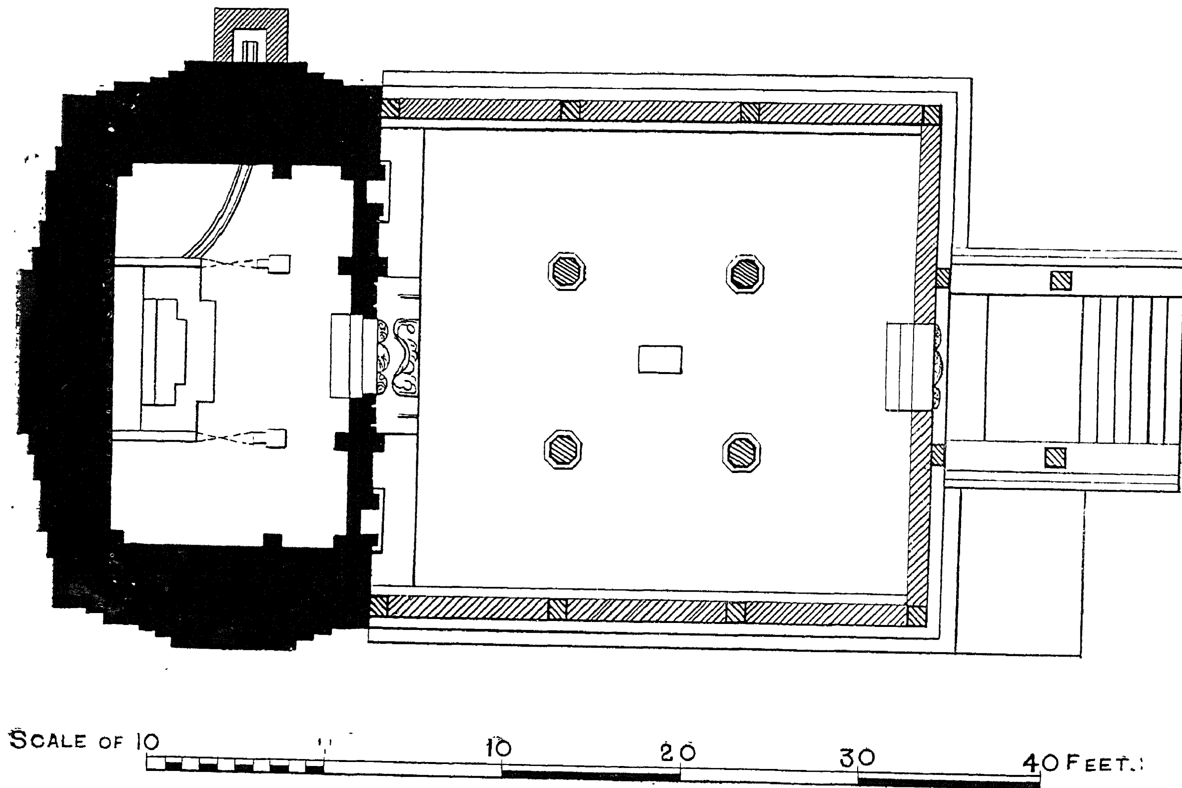


Fig. 5.—Plan of Temple of Brahmā at Khēḍ-Brahma.

And this brings me to the subject of this article, the old temple of Brahmā at Khēḍ-Brahma in the Idar State in Mahī Kānthā.[3] It used to be thought that the only temple dedicated to the worship of this deity in India was that at Pushkar in Rājputānā, but this is not so. There is nothing of any age to be seen about the Pushkar

[1] *Elura Cave Temples* (Burgess), Plate XXXI.

[2] *Elura Cave Temples* (Burgess), Plate XXXVI.

[3] This temple was first brought to my notice by the Reverend J. Stevenson of the Irish Presbyterian Mission in Gujarāt.

temple, image and temple being comparatively modern.[1] The late General Sir Alexander Cunningham records the discovery of a richly decorated temple dedicated to Brahmā at Dudāhi,[2] over the centre of the shrine doorway of which is an image of the three-headed god. In the temple is a pilgrim's record of about the 10th or 11th century recording his adoration paid to "Chaturmukha" and his wife Sāvitrī. Mr. D. R. Bhāndārkar found another Brahmā temple at Vasantgaḍh in Rājputānā,[3] in which the three-headed image still stands in the shrine. He has here but two hands. Another temple, which the writer believes to have been a shrine of Brahmā, before being taken possession of by the Liṅgāyats, is at Unkal near Hūbḷi in the Dhārwār district. In the Government list of temples for this same district, to which annual grants are given, are no less than eight temples of "Śrī Brahmadēva."

Khēḍ-Brahma is situated sixteen miles north of Idar, in Mahī Kānthā, being connected with it by a very indifferent road. It is placed at the confluence of three streams—The Bhīmā-Śaṁkarī, the Kauśāmbī and the Hiraṇya (Araṇā) Gaṅgā or Haraṇa Gaṅgā, which flow into the Sābarmatī. The temple stands in the middle of the village and faces east. It is a re-erection of the old one, the present *sabhāmaṇḍapa* and roof being modern. The sculptured walls of the shrine are old, and do not appear to have been much disturbed. The work on them partakes of the twelfth century style (fig. 6). The old walls of the shrine seem to have been, in part, rebuilt when the general restoration was made, but the original masonry has been retained, save here and there, where a new slab has been inserted to take the place of an old one decayed or broken.

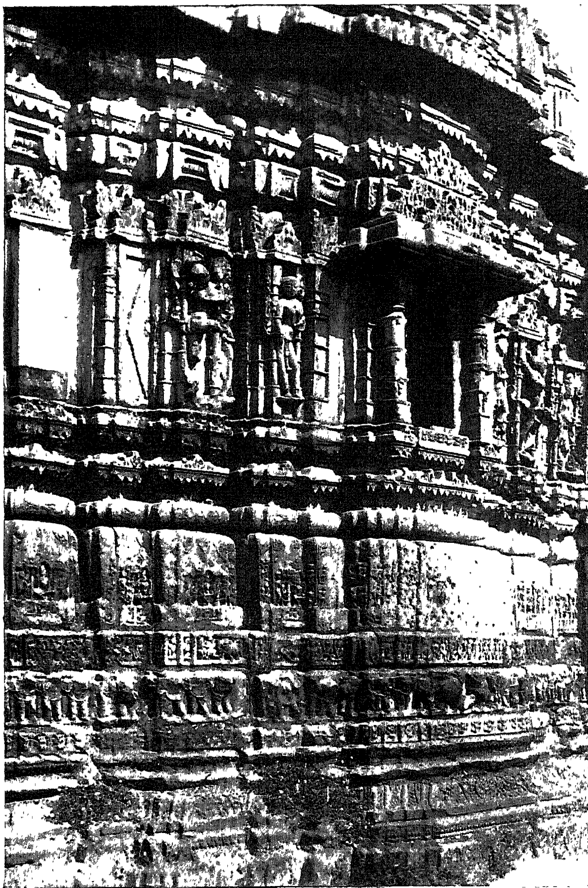


Fig. 6.

One of the first things that strikes one, on inspecting these old shrine walls, are the number of female images upon them. Apart from the three principal niches on the north, south and west, which each contain an image of Brahmā, all the panels, save three, hold goddesses and dancing girls. On temples dedicated to Śiva or Vishṇu this would, if found, be most remarkable. On temples of Dēvī (Pārvatī) it is common enough, but then such temples face the north and not the east. Even the usual

[1] Colonel Tod, in his *Rājasthān*, says this temple was "erected about four years ago"—now nearly a hundred years since he wrote. There are the ruins of some remarkable temples of Brahmā in Cambodia, where the whole spire of each is formed into a colossal four-faced head of the deity.

[2] Arch. Survey of India Report, Vol. X, p. 93.

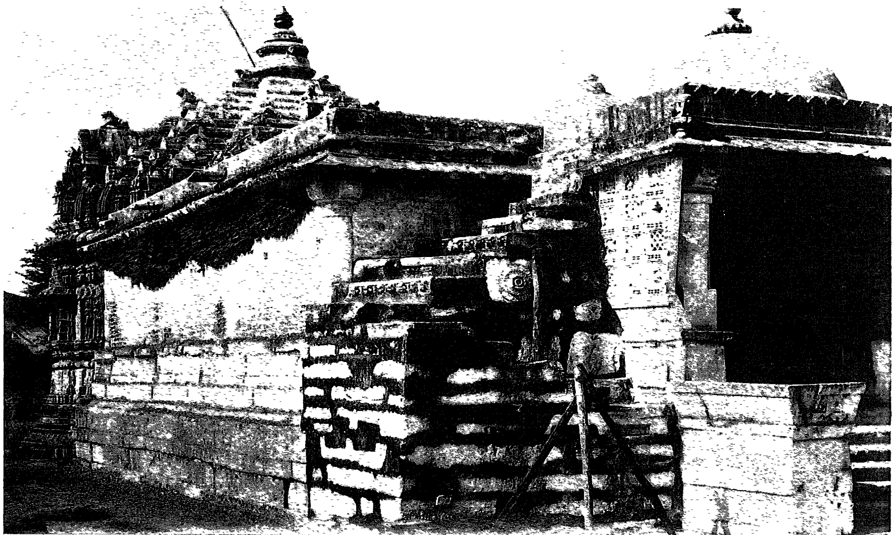
[3] Prog. Report of the Arch. Survey of India, W. C., 1905-06, p. 50.

ashṭadikpālas, or regents of the points of the compass, at the corners, appear in their female forms. On the west wall, at the back of the shrine, we find the big central niche occupied by an image of Brahmā. On his right, at the north-west angle of the temple, is Vāruṇī, with a chain around her shoulders and the *makara* below. Between her and Brahmā are a dancing girl, a *dēvī* with *chakra* in each upper hand and a nude female figure. At the south-west corner is a mutilated figure which may be Pārvatī or Durgā, with a shield and lion or tiger below her. Between her and Brahmā are female dancing figures, a female *chauri*-bearer and a nude Bhairava. Upon the north wall we again have Brahmā occupying the central niche, while among the other figures are Indra and several female figures in various attitudes. Brahmā is placed in the great central niche upon the south face, and upon the same wall are some six or seven female figures with the bearded Yama at the south-east corner. Brahmā, on the west face, has the usual symbols in his hands, *viz.*, the sacrificial ladle, the book, *mālā* or rosary, and water pot, but he has Nandi below him On the north face he has the same symbol and a horse below him, while on the south side there is a small human figure which might be Garuḍa. These are the *vāhanas* of Śiva, Sūrya, and Vishṇu, respectively. The photographs on Plate LXXIII show the style of the shrine walls.

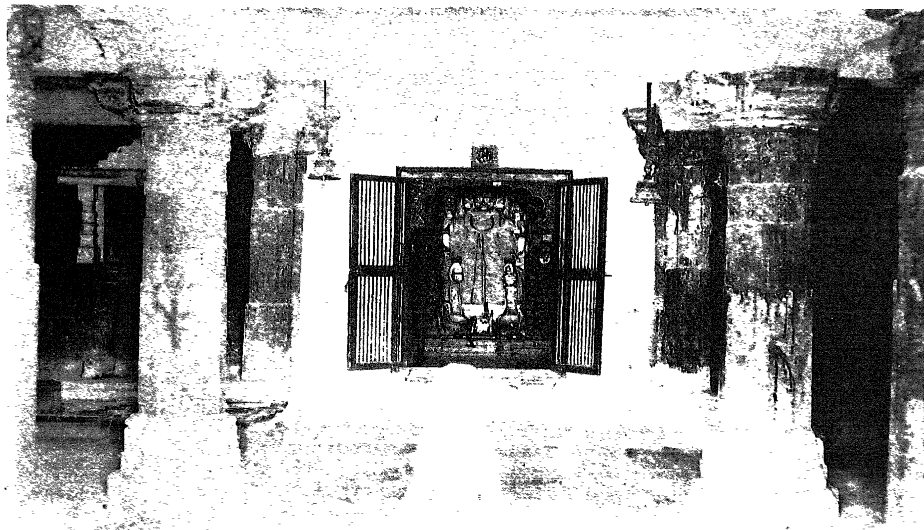
I was, of course, not able to enter the temple, much less the shrine, and had to content myself with what I could see from the *maṇḍapa* door, and from what my clerk and draftsman could tell me of the interior of the temple. I had, however, a good view of the image, as will be seen from the photograph on Plate LXXIII which was taken from the doorway. The present image is quite a modern one, being made of plaster, finished off with a white polished surface resembling marble. It is four-armed and three-faced, has the usual symbols, and a goose stands on either side below. The image is clothed in a pink cotton dress.

It will be seen that the shrine is not square but oblong, longer in width from north to south than in depth, and this I consider was the original plan unaltered in the restoration. On examining the outside of the walls of the shrine it will be seen that the mouldings and panels are quite regular and show no indication of the south and north walls having been contracted in their length to suit the shorter sides of the shrine within. All the figure panelling and the basement offsets and recesses are planned to suit the oblong shrine, and the principal projecting niches, containing the images of Brahmā (*cf.* fig. 7), occupy the centre of each side, that is, they are on the two axes of the shrine within. The shrine, therefore, could hardly have been a Śaiva shrine to contain a *liṅga*, as those are always square. The plan would lend itself to an image of Vishṇu and his *avatāras* in line, had it been longer than it is. The width of the shrine of the old Vaishṇava temple at Kadvār in Kāṭhiā-wāḍ, which seems to have contained all the *avatāras*, is two and a half times the depth, whereas this is hardly one and a half But in this case we should expect to find Vaishṇava images and *avatāras* on the exterior, but I find none. In the Laṅkēśvara side chapel at Kailāsa at Elura we have Brahmā, Śiva and Vishṇu, life-sized images, sculptured in a row, side by side.[1] Similarly here, it is quite possible, there were originally images of the same three deities, Brahmā occupying the centre. The female images upon the

[1] *Elura Cave Temples* (Burgess), Plate XXX.



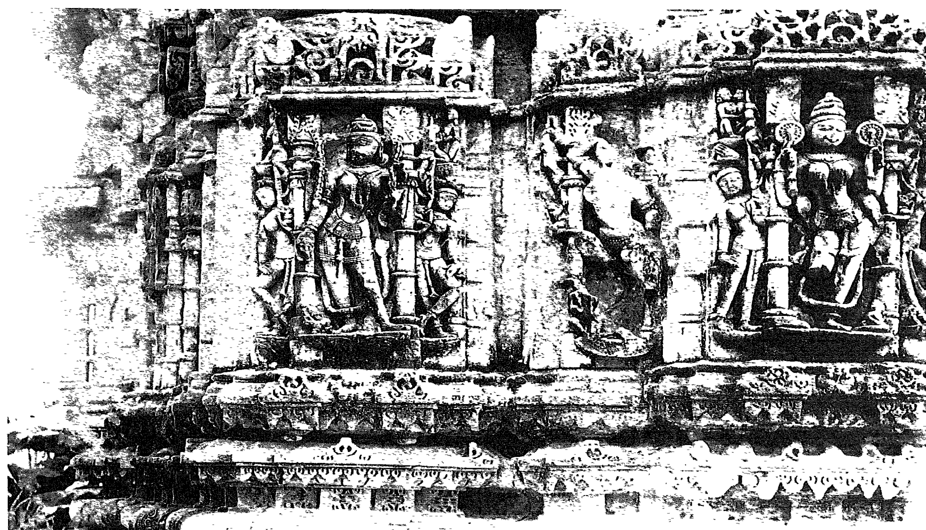
TEMPLE OF BRAHMĀ, EXTERIOR.



TEMPLE OF BRAHMĀ, INTERIOR.



TEMPLE OF BRAHMĀ, NORTH WALL OF SHRINE.



TEMPLE OF BRAHMĀ, NORTH-WEST CORNER OF SHRINE WALL.

exterior might suggest a temple to a *dēvī* originally, but all temples to *dēvīs* that I can remember—some ten—all face the north. The three images of Brahmā, one in each of the three principal niches, should settle the question without further doubt, as to what deity the temple was originally dedicated to, but there is the possibility that the present images are not the original ones. Upon a very close examination of all three I have satisfied myself that the workmanship and setting of these images differ in no respect from the other figure sculpture upon the walls. Had the temple been converted to the worship of Brahmā when restored, one could not well understand the reason why a common plaster image should have been made for the shrine when excellent stone ones were provided for the three outside niches. Moreover there is a community of Brāhmaṇas here who have been here from generation to generation, and who devote themselves exclusively to the worship of Brahmā.



Fig. 7.

Little need be said about the interior of the temple, or of the *maṇḍapa* and tower, which are modern. The four pillars, within the hall, are perhaps original ones re-erected. They are octagonal and are decorated with the pendant chain and bell, above which is a band of *Kīrtimukha* faces. The doorway to the shrine may or may not be original; it is too much caked with successive coats of whitewash to determine the point. On either side little groups of sculptures occupy panels, one above the other. Inside of these appears to be a floral border. On the dedicatory block, above the door, is Gaṇeśa. This does not, of course, imply that the shrine was built for Śaiva worship any more than Gaja-Lakshmī over doors of temples in the south of Mahārāshṭra indicated Vaishṇava worship. Both were used as favourite deities in the north and south respectively, even the Jains having freely used Gaja-Lakshmī upon outer doors of their temples. I am doubtful, though, whether Gaṇeśa would have surmounted a Vaishṇava temple door.

The temple worship is carried out by Kheḍāvala Brāhmaṇas (that is resident Brāhmaṇas of Khēḍ-Brahma), who are Audīcha Brāhmaṇas and followers of the *Śukla Yajurvēda*. Worship is performed twice a day, in the morning before ten o'clock, and in the evening at about seven. It is conducted without reciting the Vēdic *mantras*, the Purāṇic *mantras* only being used. The things used in daily worship are water, sandal, rice and sugar. The image is bathed on both occasions. On the fifteenth of Śrāvaṇa Śuddha the annual *mahā* worship is performed, when, in addition to the

things used in daily worship, other things are added, *viz.*, the ablution with milk, curds, ghi, honey, and sugar, and then the *naivedya* consists of cooked food. *Mahā pujās* are also performed on *Divāḷi* days, and on the fifteenth of the bright half of Kārtika. Upon the 9th day of Aśvina, during the *Navarātra*, a *homa* is performed. As each offering is thrown into the fire a verse from the *Śapta Śitī* is first recited. There is no special *Navarātra* ceremony for Brahmā as there is in the case of Dēvī in Aśvina, Rāma in Chaitra, Khaṇḍobā in Mārgasīrsha, and Sūrya in Māgha.

If a fair be held on the fifteenth of the bright half of Māgha, an annual allowance of R28 is granted to the temple by the Durbār of Idar. To the temple was formerly attached a piece of land, the rent of which was R25, but the Durbār has recently resumed the land and promised the money equivalent.

HENRY COUSENS.

LAKULĪŚA.

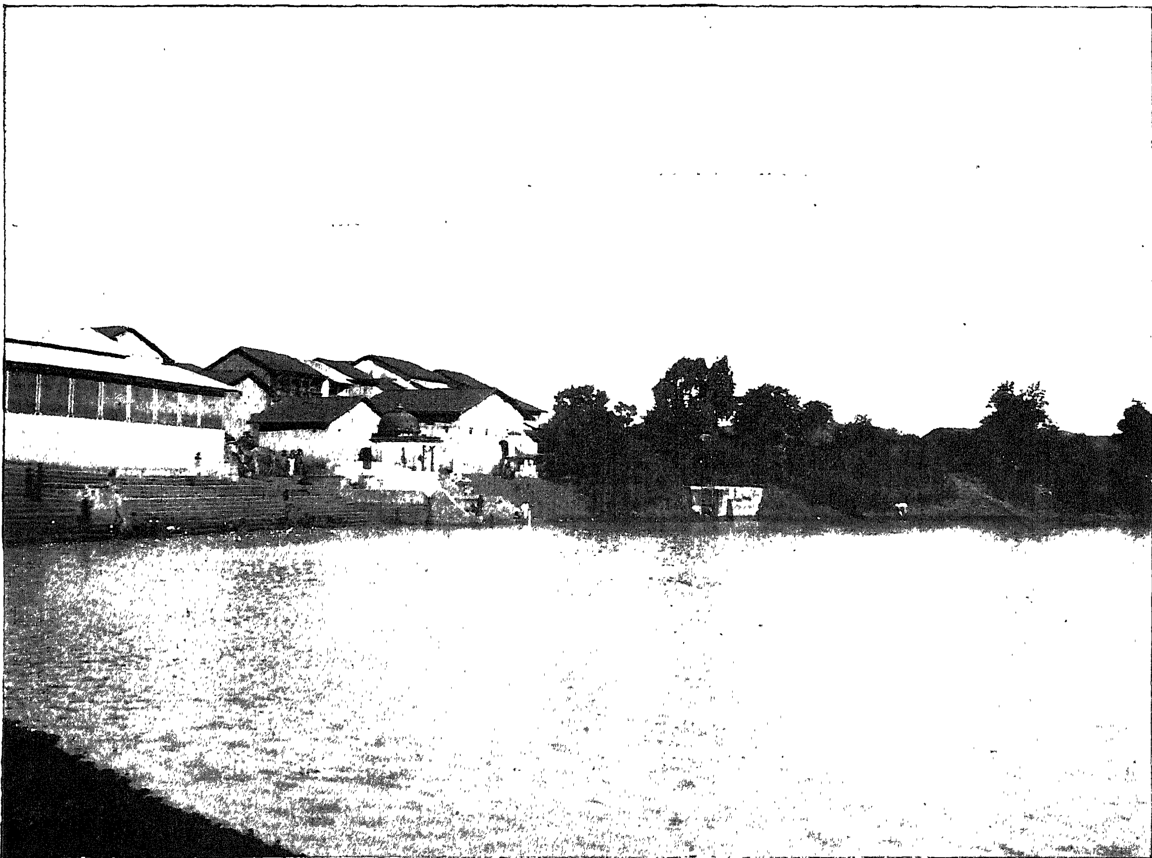


Fig. 1.

TWO years ago, I contributed, to the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. LXI, p. 151 and ff., a paper entitled "An Êklingji stone inscription and the origin and history of the Lakulīśa sect". Since then it seems to have attracted some attention amongst European scholars and antiquarians. It was briefly but favourably criticised first by M. A. Barth in *Comptus rendus des séances de l' Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1906, and subsequently by Dr. Fleet, who wrote in greater detail, and approved of most of my conclusions expressed therein, in a paper published in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, 1907, p. 419 ff. Being encouraged by the favourable remarks of these veteran scholars, I went on making further researches in this matter, and am glad to say that my efforts have not been futile. In the course of my travelling

in Rājputānā as Assistant Superintendent, Archæological Survey, I found some more temples connected in some way or another with Lakulīśa. It was only in January last that I could seize the opportunity of visiting Kārvāṇ, with which has been identified Kāyāvarohaṇa, where the incarnation of Śiva as Lakulīśa is supposed to have taken place. This has enabled me to secure the local *Māhātmya* and make a copy of it, and also to personally inspect the objects of Lakulīśa worship that have still survived there. Again, in the commentary on the *Shaḍ-darśana-samuchchaya*, I came across a passage which, though in some respects fantastic and incredible, is descriptive of the manners and customs of the Pāśupatas, and is consequently of some importance in this respect. What I propose to do here is to supplement my previous paper by piecing together the various items of information I have lighted upon since I wrote it, and, as this paper will be accompanied by illustrations, it will also add greater interest to the subject. I shall first give a short summary of the Kārvāṇ *māhātmya* and describe the objects of Lakulīśa worship still to be met with there; then enter into the iconographic details, and describe in full the characteristics of the images of Lakulīśa that have so far been found, and finally close this paper with the extract from the *Shaḍ-darśana-samuchchaya* just referred to.

Now, as regards the Kārvāṇ *māhātmya*, a brief summary of it has already been published in Volume VII of the Bombay Gazetteer, which is devoted to the Baroda State. It was with the greatest difficulty and tact that I was able to secure this *māhātmya*. There is but one copy of it now left in the village. Formerly there were two, but one of these was carried away, as I was told, by a Subhā of the State many years ago, much against the wishes and entreaties of the people. So the people were loath to show me the one that is now left, fearing that this also might share the fate of its companion. The Brāhmaṇas of the place first flatly denied that they had any copy of the *māhātmya*, but I was fortunate enough, after a brief stay there, to inspire them with confidence, and, the owner of it, who seems to be the head of the Brāhmaṇa community there, came one night stealthily to my place and showed me the *māhātmya*. This work, however, does not seem to be an old production, and, as it is, is full of lacunæ, solecisms, inaccuracies, and even inconsistencies. Nevertheless, an abstract of its contents will, I believe, not be uninteresting, as it will, in many points, confirm the views expressed in my first paper. On the first leaf, the work calls itself "*Śrī-Lakuṭapāṇē(ṇī)śa-māhātmya*." It begins with obeisance first to Gaṇēśa and next to Lakulapāṇi. The *māhātmya* consists of four chapters. The first ends with *iti Śrī-Vāyupurāṇē Śivaprasūti-sargaḥ* [Here (ends) the canto (describing) the birth of Śiva in Srī-Vāyupurāṇa]. The second chapter ends: *Śrī-Śivapurāṇē Lakulīśa-māhātmyē saṁtōsha-karaṇaṁ nām-ādhyāyaḥ* [Here (closes) the (second) chapter called "Generation of satisfaction" of *Lakulīśa māhātmya* in Śrī-Śiva-purāṇa]. The third ends thus: *iti Śrī-Śiva-purāṇē Lakulīśa-māhātmyaṁ nāma tritīyō dhyāyaḥ* [Here (closes) the third chapter named the "Greatness of Lakulīśa" in Śrī-Śivapurāṇa]. The last or fourth ends with *iti Śrī-Śiva purāṇē Pārvatī-Mahēśa-saṁvādē tīrthānukramaṇikāyāṁ Śrī-Śūlapāṇi-janma-paṭṭa-bandh-ādi-māhātmyaṁ saṁpūrṇaṁ*. [Here closes the "Greatness of the tying of silk cloth, of the birth of Śūlapāṇi and so forth" amongst the Catalogue of the

sacred places (specified) in the dialogue of Pārvatī and Mahēśa in Śrī-Siva-Purāṇa].

I now proceed to give a summary of the first chapter, which, as will be seen from the ending words quoted above, is devoted to the birth of Śiva, *i.e.*, obviously of Lakulīśa. The opening verse invokes the blessings of Lakuṭapāṇi, who is said to be Mahēśa (Śiva) incarnated in Kaliyuga. Then we are informed that Pārvatī once asked Mahādeva, when alone, to explain to her in detail the peculiar merits of *Paṭṭa-bandha*. Thereupon Śiva gave the following account of his incarnation, which took place between the Dvāpara and Kali *yugas*. There was a sage named Atri, and in his lineage was born Viśvarūpa. His wife was Sudarśanā. In order to favour Vīrabhadra-gaṇa, Śiva incarnated himself in Ulkāpura.[1] He was conceived in her womb in the month of Bhādrapada. In course of time as the month of Chaitra arrived, she gave birth to a child after midnight on the 14th of the bright half, and the mother saw, in the lying-in chamber, as soon as born, that her child was of tawny eyes and tawny hair, and like heated gold in complexion. The father invited learned and pious Brāhmaṇas, performed the rite of *Jātakarma*, and propitiated them with handsome gifts. On hearing of a solar eclipse at the end of Srāvaṇa following, he resolved to go on pilgrimage to Kurukshetra. He exhorted his wife to perform *agnihōtra* before sunrise, and offer *hōma* after sunset and never to forget the duties of hospitality to guests and ascetics. Lastly, he conjured her and his pupils and dependents to take care of the child. And thereupon he left for Kurukshētra.

The second chapter is a short one. It describes how faithfully the Brāhmaṇa-woman performed the *agnihōtra* directed by her husband. One night she forgot to discharge her duty, but the child secretly performed it. This she suspected, and she kept herself awake the following night to actually witness the child going through the ceremonial. Her surmise proved correct, and when the husband returned, the fact was duly communicated to him. Both the parents sat up to watch the child.

The third chapter then begins by saying that, having beheld their son occupied in the ceremonial, they asked him who he was. As soon as their words had been uttered, he fell senseless on the ground, and Sudarśanā was struck with dismay, and also fell on the ground Afterwards having placed the dead child on her lap, she threw him in a pool of water called Dēvakhāta (also called Dēvahrada), from where he was taken by the tortoises to where the mahā-liṅga Jalēśvara lay. On making offerings to the deceased son, the Brāhmaṇa fell into a swoon. In the meanwhile, through the exercise of miraculous powers, the boy came out of the water, and was seen playing by the Brāhmaṇas, who were wonder-struck. The sages, on knowing this deed of the child, were also filled with wonder, and asked him who he was. He replied: "I am the indescribable vital air abiding in a human body formed of the five elements and possessed of the five senses." The *Ṛishis* fell to praising him by describing his various attributes. Thus ends the third chapter, and the fourth commences by telling us that the boy afterwards began to run away from them. He was, however, followed by them, who were praising him all the while. In a moment

[1] Ulkāpura is identified by the local Brāhmaṇas with Avakhel, in the same district, but in the Senior sub-division.

the child vanished, and stood playing on the bank of the river Aurva, which is Sarasvatī herself, come down to oblige Bhṛigukshetra. On its west is Kāyāvaro-haṇa. His parents and all the Brāhmaṇas then began to cry aloud, and search after him in the forests that night. Being moved by their heart-rending lamentations, he returned with the speed of the wind, and revealed himself as Mahēśvara. Thereupon they trembled, but continued their bewailings for the boy. The child said: "Neither the sages nor my parents dare touch me. There is some important work to be done. Listen, O *Ṛishis*; give up thy grief, O thou (woman) with broad eyes, for mother have I none. Listen O *Ṛishis*, to the ancient history. I am Mahēśvara in person, and have incarnated myself in Ulkāgrāma for conferring boons upon *Ṛishis*, enlightening the Brāhmaṇas, and re-establishing religion." The *Ṛishis* then praised him, and asked him to narrate the greatness of Ulkāgrāma. Thereupon he replied that Ulkāgrāma had been a sacred Śaiva place for the last seven *Manvantaras*. Various merits are then described by him, that accrue to the devotees who die after fasting there; who feast the Brāhmaṇas, who bathe in Dēvakhāta, and offer oblations, and so forth. Although all this explanation of the boy's birth and incarnation was given, yet his parents with eyes full of tears followed him, inducing him to return to them. Thereupon he stupefied them for a moment by the *māyā* of Vishṇu, and then repaired to Kāyāvi(va)rohaṇa, where were Īśāna, who had incarnated himself to favour Bhṛigu, and Mālaksha with his host of goddesses. After a while he again saw at his back his father and mother. He knitted his brows, and his eyes flashed with anger. The Brāhmaṇa became senseless. The boy was moved with pity, and consoled him. "Let us all dwell together here, O Brāhmaṇa", said he. So saying, with his staff he dragged the Ganges there, and, as, while she was being dragged, long streaks were made, the place has been known as Dīrghikā[1]. He then approached the god Vṛiddhadēva,[2] and requested the latter to grant him a place of refuge. It was then the end of the Dvāpara *yuga*. The god, however, replied that the place, where he himself lived, had been overcrowded. The request was again repeated, and the god then directed him to go to Brahmēśvara. Having heard the words of the god Vṛiddha, Lakulīśa went to Brahmēśvara, and there merged himself into him. There divine Mahēśvara remained in bodily form, and as he descended to the earth in his very body the place was called Kāyārohaṇa. And so he was merged into the *liṅga* called Brahma, with *asi-daṇḍa*[3] in his left, and *bījapūraka* or citron in his right, hand. Mahādeva said: "Thus in Kārōhaṇa I incarnated myself for sanctifying Bhṛigukshētra.[4] From the mind of Brahman sprang Atri, from Atri Âtrēya, from the latter Agniśarmā, from Agniśarmā Sōmaśarmā, from the latter Viśvarūpa, and from Viśvarūpa I myself assuming a boy's form. In the first *Yuga* Īśāna was famous, in the second Mahābala, in the third Vṛiddha, and in the fourth I myself, coming down in bodily form for the purification of Bhṛigukshetra. In the Kṛita *yuga* it was celebrated as Ichchhāpurī,

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[1] This is unquestionably the spacious tank on the outskirts of the village of Kārvāṇ. See illustration (fig. 1).

[2] There is still a temple at Kārvāṇ dedicated to Vṛiddhēśvara.

[3] The *māhātmya*, as will be seen from the summary given above, speaks not simply of *daṇḍa* but of *asi-daṇḍa* (staff-like sword) as held by Lakulīśa, but I have not yet found any image in which a sword is borne by him. Are we to dissolve the compound *asi-daṇḍa* so as to signify "a sword-like staff?"

[4] In the manuscript of the *māhātmya*, it is stated in a footnote that Bhṛigukshetra is that tract of countries which is twelve *yojanas* round about Bhṛigu (Broach).

in Trēta Māyāpurī, in Dvāpara Mēghavatī, and in Kali Kāyāvarōhaṇa". Then are enumerated the various merits obtained by the performance of various rites connected with Lakulīśa. The foremost of these is *paṭṭabandha* the performance of which liberates a man from future births. If Mahēśvara is dressed, says the *Māhātmya*, with a cloth of *paṭṭa* or silk, for as many thousand *yugas* as are the threads of the cloth is the man honoured in Śiva-loka.

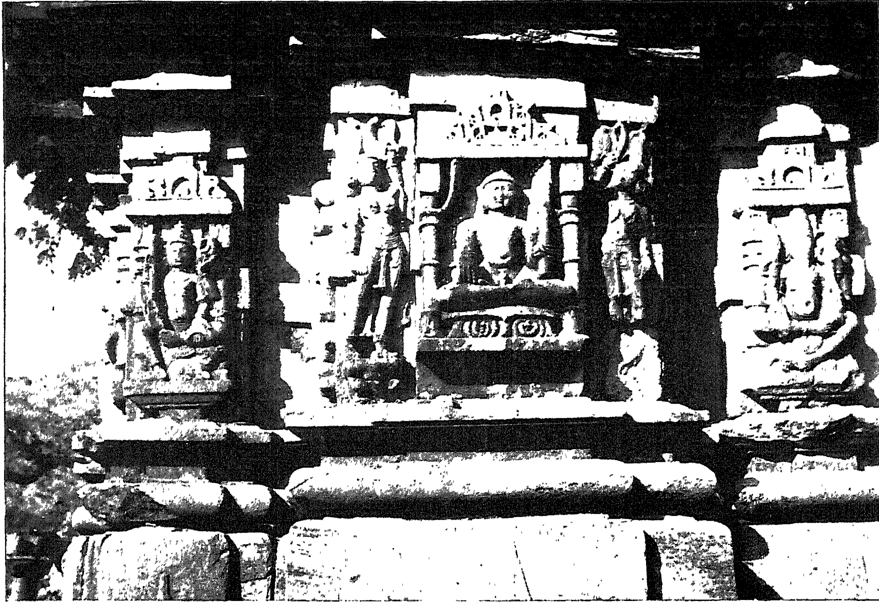


Fig. 2.

This is in short the account of the incarnation of Śiva contained in the Kārvāṇ *māhātmya*. This confirms, in the first place, the sense first suggested by Dr. Bühler for the name Lakulīśa. In our *māhātmya* occur the words Lakulīśa and Lakuṭapāṇīśa, both denoting one and the same individual. Lakulīśa must, therefore, be taken synonymous with Lakuṭapāṇīśa, and must be interpreted to mean "the god who bears a *lakula* or *lakuṭa* in his hand." In the Ēkliṅgjī inscription also occurs the expression *lakul-ōpalakshita-karaḥ* used in connection with this god, signifying "one whose hand is characterised by a *lakula*." There is thus a perfect agreement on this point between the Ēkliṅgjī inscription and the Kārvāṇ *māhātmya*, and the explanation of the name first proposed by Professor Bühler must, therefore, be upheld as correct. Secondly, the old name of Kārvāṇ, as given in the *Māhātmya*, is Kārōhaṇa or Kāyāvi(va)rōhaṇa. The Cintra *praśasti* gives the first name, and the second name is mentioned in the Ēkliṅgjī inscription. Kāyāvarōhaṇa appears to have been the original name, which was first corrupted into Kārōhaṇa, and was still further corrupted into the modern Kārvāṇ. The name Kāyāvarōhaṇa literally means "(the place of) the descent in bodily form", and we are distinctly told in the *Māhātmya*, as we have seen, that the place was so called because Śiva descended there in bodily form. The *Vāyupurāṇa*, however, gives the name Kāyārōhaṇa, which, as pointed out by Dr. Fleet, has not the same sense[1]. "It, on the contrary, means (the place of) the ascent in bodily form". This name is intelligible only on the supposition that it refers to the merging of Lakulīśa into the *liṅga* Brahmēśvara, also referred to in the *māhātmya*. Anyhow it can hardly be doubted that Kāyārōhaṇa and Kāyāvarōhaṇa both refer to one and the same place. If any proof were needed that the *māhātmya* in question relates to Kārvāṇ, it is furnished first by the fact that there is still at this

[1] *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, 1907. p. 22, n.1.

village a temple dedicated to Naklesvar (Lakulīsvara), and that the image in the sanctum is pointed out as the conjoint figure of Brahmēsvara and Lakulīsa, confirming the statement of the *māhātmya* that Lakulīsa merged himself into Brahmesvara. Again, we have at Kārvāṇ a temple to Vṛiddhesvara, whom Lakulīsa first besought for a place of refuge. Other deities, specified in the *māhātmya* but not mentioned in the summary, as they had no direct bearing upon the origin and worship of Lakulīsa, are still shown by the people there. No reasonable doubt need, therefore, be entertained as to the *māhātmya* really being connected with Kārvāṇ.

I shall now enumerate the various places where I have found new sculptures of Lakulīsa since I wrote my last paper. The places mentioned therein, so far as Rājputānā was concerned, were from the Jhālāwār, Koṭāh, and Udaipur States. But worship of Lakulīsa was not confined to the eastern parts of Rājputānā only. In the Western States of Rājputānā also, such as Sirohi and Mārwār, instances are not wanting of temples containing image of Lakulīsa. At Kāyadrā, at the foot of Mount Ābū, there is a temple dedicated to Kāsī-Visvesvara. Above the door of the ante-chamber to its shrine figures Lakulīsa. At Achalesvara on Mount Ābū, about six miles from Dilvāḍā, Lakulīsa can be easily recognised on the gateway of the walled enclosure of the temple. The same god is sculptured in the principal niche, on the southern face, on the outside walls of the temple close by. These places are in the Sirohi territory and, in Mārwār, Chohṭaṇ, Nāṇā and Belār are the only places, where images of Lakulīsa have been so far discovered. Chohṭaṇ is in Mallāṇī about twenty-eight miles from Bāḍmer, the principal town of the province. About half-way up the hill of Chohṭaṇ are three Śaiva temples. One of them is dedicated to Lakulīsa, on the shrine door of which that divinity is sculptured. On the front of the lintel, resting on the porch pillars, is engraved an inscription, which begins with a bow to Lakulīsa, specifies the date *saṁvat 1365 varshē pōsha-sudi 6 guru-dinē*, and

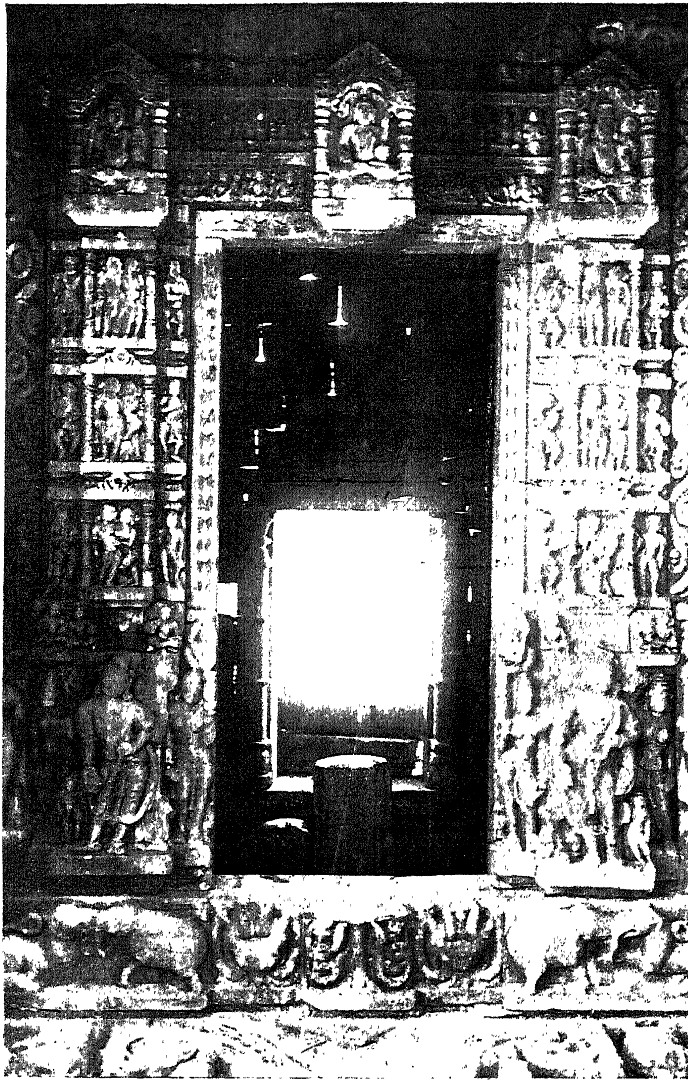


Fig. 3.

speaks of the temple as being renovated for spiritual merit by Śrī-Dharmarāśi, *suta-chelā* (*i.e.*, pupil considered as son) of Śrī-Uttamarāśi. Nāṇā and Belār are both in the Bālī district of the Goḍvāḍ province. At the former place, on the outskirts of the village, near the temple of Nīlakaṇṭha-Mahādeva, are the ruins of three shrines, two of which contain images of Lakulīśa in niches facing the south. Near one of these shrines was an inscription stone, which is now stuck up in the ground near the hall door of the temple of Nīlakaṇṭha-Mahādeva. The inscription is dated *saṁvat 1290 māgha vadi 15 some*, when Somasiṁha, a Paramāra king, was *mahārājādhirāja*, his son, Kānhaḍa-deva, was *yuvarāja* or heir-apparent, and one Laksha, a favourite of the latter, was the *jahāgirdār* of Nāṇaka (Nāṇā). The object of it is to record some grant made by Kānhaḍa-deva to the god Lakula(li)deva. Three miles to the north-west of Nāṇā is Belār, outside of which village is a Śaiva temple overlooking a spacious tank, with only three of its attendant shrines now surviving. The outside walls, both of this temple and the subsidiary shrines, have all images of Lakulīśa in the principal niches on the south All these instances have been adduced so far as Rājputānā is concerned,[1] but other instances are not wanting. Thus at Ujjain, to which I paid a private visit last year, I noticed two figures of Lakulīśa on the lintels of the doors of two inner chambers of what is known there as Bhartṛi-hari's *guṁphā*. Mr. Cousens, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Western Circle, tells me that he has found two images of Lakulīśa on monoliths found at Lālpeṭh near Chāndā, Central Provinces. Dr. Bloch, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Eastern Circle, also informs me that at Bhubaneśvar in Orissā, Lakulīśa is represented on the porch of the temple of Paraśurāmēśvara. This shows that the worship of this divinity was not restricted to Rājputānā only, but had spread as far south as Mysore, as pointed out in my last paper, and also, as we see now, as far east as Orissa.

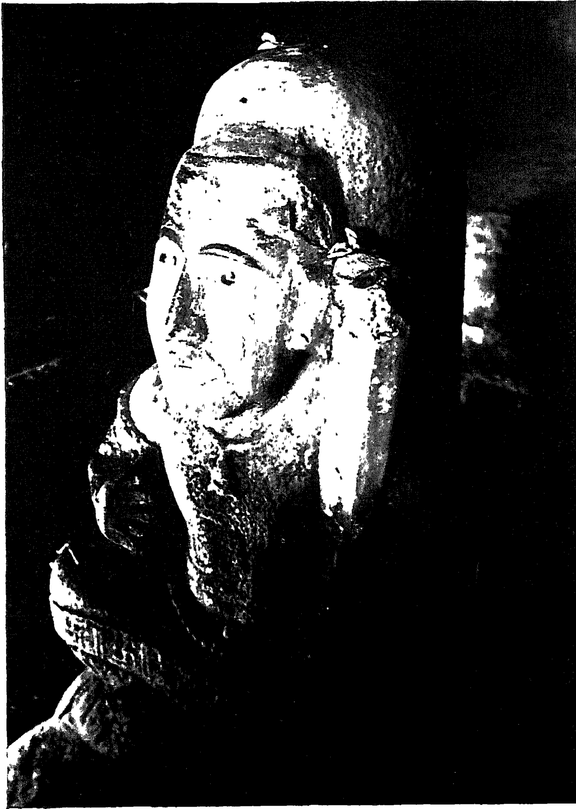


Fig. 4.

I have stated in my previous paper that Lakulīśa is sculptured not only in the principal niches on the outside walls of a temple, but also on the lintels of shrines, door-frames and in the interiors of the sancta. This remark may be seen thoroughly borne out by the illustrations, which accompany this article. Illustration No. 2 represents the exterior wall, facing the south, of the central temple at Belār. Here Lakulīśa occupies the principal niche, flanked, on his proper right and left, by Yama and Agni, guardians of the southern and south-eastern

[1]All these instances have been given in the *Prog. Rep. Archæol. Surv. Ind. West. Circ.* for the year ending 31st March 1907, pp. 24, 28, and 43, and *ibid.*, 1908, pp. 49 and 50.

directions. Illustration No. 3 is of the shrine door of a dilapidated temple at Aṭrū in the Koṭāh State. Therein Lakulīśa figures above the door in the centre, with Brahmā and Vishṇu on his right and left respectively. In figs. 4 and 5 we have two *liṅgas* with the images of Lakulīśa sculptured in front, the first of which is in the temple of Nakleśvar, and the second, of Rājrājeśvar, both at Kārvāṇ. As Śiva is never worshipped except in the form of the *liṅga*, the figure of Lakulīśa by itself could not be an object of worship, and had, therefore, to be conjoined to that of a *liṅga*.

Let us now see how Lakulīśa is sculptured. In the Dekkan College Library there is a MS. called *Viśvakarm-āvatāra-vāstu-śāstraṁ*, which gives the following verse as descriptive of the images of Lakulīśa :

न(ल)कुलीशं ऊर्ध्वमेढ्ं पद्मासनसुसंस्थितं ।
दक्षिणे मातुलिङ्गं च वामे दण्डं प्रकीर्तितं ॥

This means that Lakulīśa should be represented with *ūrdhva-mēḍhra* as resting on a lotus seat, and bearing a citron in his right, and a staff in his left hand. This description holds good in all respects only in the case of Lakulīśa sculptured on the south wall of the temple at Belār and a loose image of that god found in the temple of Gupteśvara at Māṇḍalgaḍh, in the Udaipur State (figs. 2 and 6). Here the citron in his right, and the staff in his left, hand are distinctly visible. He also occupies a lotus seat and the fourth point also agrees. In the case of the latter, the lotus is represented as springing from a stalk, on each side of which is a worshipper, thus reminding us of similar Buddha sculptures in ancient cave temples. The lotus seat is, however, absent in other illustrations, but the remaining three characteristics are present. In fact, without them no image can possibly be one of Lakulīśa. The *ūrdhva mēḍhra* stamps him as Śaiva, for Śiva is often described as *ūrdhva-retas* and *ūrdhva-liṅga*. Of the objects held in hands, the citron, again, is not peculiar to Lakulīśa, but is found also in the hands of many forms of Śiva



Fig. 5.

and Pārvatī, though I have not yet seen a case where this fruit is borne by a divinity not connected in some way or another with Śiva and his consort. The plain staff, however, is peculiar to Lakulīśa, and has not yet been met with in the sculpture of any form of Śiva. The citron is, again, sometimes replaced by another fruit of a round form, which looks exactly like a cocoanut Two of such instances that have come to my notice are the temples of Talēśvara at Tilasmā in Bijoliā, Udaipur State, and the temple of Kāśī-Viśvesvara at Kāyadrā in the Sirohi State, where Lakulīśa is represented above the shrine doors with apparently a cocoanut in one of his hands. Possibly the rough uneven surface of the citron, which was originally carved, has worn out, and, therefore, now looks smooth and round, producing the impression that it is a cocoanut. Sometimes, instead of the fruit, a bowl seems to have been held in his hand by Lakulīśa. An instance in point is furnished by the two monoliths found at Lālpeṭh referred to above. In almost all the cases of Lakulīśa sculptures, however, the fruit can be unmistakably recognised to be a citron, and, in the majority of instances, it is held in the palm in the right hand, resting on the thigh. But in the images of the temple of Gupteśvara, the hand bearing the citron is upraised. The staff (*daṇḍa*), which is also borne by the deity, is, in no two cases, exactly the same. They are, however, all alike, and can, except in two cases, be easily recognised as ordinary staves or *soṭas*, as they are called in Marāṭhī, which are generally used by the ascetics. On the shrine door of the Aṭrū temple, however, on the loose image in the temple of Gupteśvara in Māṇḍalgaḍh, and in the sanctum of the temple of Nakleśvar at Kārvāṇ, it looks more like a police baton than an ordinary staff.[1] Sometimes the objects held in the hand are transposed, the right bearing a staff and the left a citron. Such instances are rare but are not wanting. At Belār itself, *e.g.*, in the principal niche of one of the attendant shrines alluded to above, Lakulīśa is so represented. Again, Mr. Cousens informs me that at Māndhātā, in the Central Provinces, whilst these objects are held by Lakulīśa in the proper hands above two of the shrine doors of Siddhanātha, they are seen reversed on the remaining two. It is worthy of note that sometimes Lakulīśa is sculptured with his legs partially or fully crossed and with a band of cloth running round his knees apparently to support him in that posture. Thus, of the two images in the temple of Gupteśvara, one that is seated on a lotus throne has the legs fully, and the other partially, crossed. Another instance of the latter type is supplied by the image in the sanctum of the temple of Nakleśvara in Kārvāṇ. In all these cases a band of cloth may be distinctly seen going round the knee-caps What the significance of this is, is unknown to me, but it cannot but remind one of Brāhmaṇa priests sometimes assuming that posture and supporting themselves with their shoulder-scarf in a similar manner, especially when they give themselves up to gossiping. One curious image of Lakulīśa I found at Chohṭaṇ. There Lakulīśa was represented with his head canopied by a seven-hooded cobra, thus bringing to our mind its similarity to the figure of the Jaina *tīrthaṁkara* Pārśvanātha. But the closest correspondence to the image of a Jina, that has so far been noticed by me, is presented by the

[1] *Daṇḍa*, which is an ordinary staff, must always be distinguished from *khaṭvaṅga*, a skull-crowned mace. The latter is no doubt found in some forms of Śiva, but is not peculiar to Lakulīśa. What is specially characteristic of him is *daṇḍa* only.

singular image of Lakulīša in a principal niche of the temple of Talēšvara at Tilasmā (fig. 7). Here the woolly hair, long ear-lobes, lense-like eyes, the edge of the garment going diagonally from the left shoulder down to the right thigh, and above all the *svastika* mark on the breast, are sufficient to stamp the image as one of a Jaina *tīrthaṁkara*, in the eyes of a person who is only short of an expert in iconography. Nay, the very bull, which is carved in front of the seat, but emphasizes the above conclusion, and is enough to lead him to regard it as a figure of Ādinātha, the first *tīrthaṁkara*, whose cognizance is the bull. But, on reflection, it will be seen that it cannot be the image of a Jina. The hands, unfortunately, have been broken off and, consequently, the citron and the staff are not preserved to distinguish it from *tīrthaṁkaras*. But the pose of the hands is distinct enough to show that they could not possibly have been joined and placed, palm above palm, in the hollow between the thighs, as those of a Jina invariably are. The serpent, again, which encircles the neck, serves to distinguish it from the image of a *tīrthaṁkara*, and points to its being a Śaiva image. Lastly, the *ūrdhva-mēḍhra*, which, though a little broken off, is sufficiently preserved, is an unmistakable indication of its being a figure of Lakulīša. The close similarity, however, between this image of Lakulšīa and those of the *tīrthaṁkaras* can, in no wise, be controverted. But I do not think that Jainism is to be supposed from this to have exercised any influence on the worship of Lakulīša. In my last paper, I had occasion to mention two ancient sculptures of Lakulīša from *Cave-Temples*, which no less an authority than Dr. Burgess had thought to be evident copies of Buddha. The truth of the matter appears to be that the Indian sculptors had their own conventional mode of carving figures of ascetics, and that consequently the points of similarity, which a Buddha, a *tīrthaṁkara*, and a Lakulīša bore, were due to their all being sculptured as ascetics, but they were sharply distinguished from one another by the special characteristics which gave to each his own individuality.

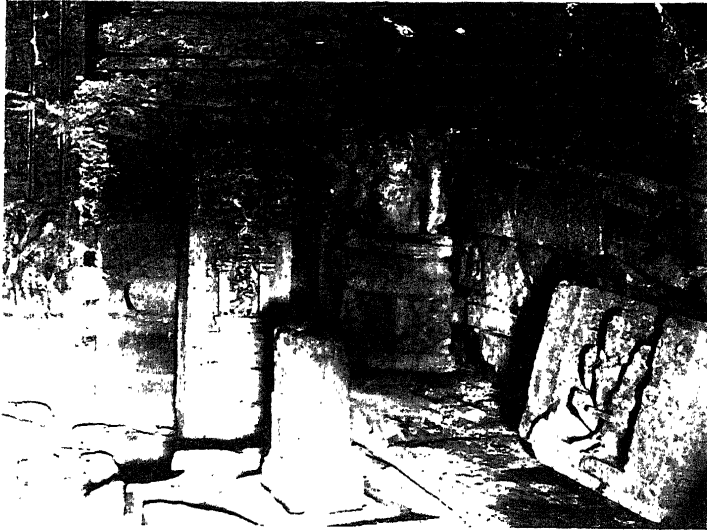


Fig. 6.

In my previous paper, I stated that the ascetics of the Lakulīša sect had their names always ending in *rāśi*. Thus in the Ēkliṅgjī inscription edited by me, the *kārāpakas*, who were in charge of the supervision over the building of the temple of Lakulīša there, are Supu(pū)jitarāsi(śi), Sadyōrāsi(śi), and Viniśchitarāsi(śi). The well-known Chintra prasasti, while introducing Tripurāntaka, an ascetic-worshipper of Lakulīša, to whom great homage was done at Prabhās Pāṭaṇ, speaks of Kārttit karāśi and Vālmīkirāšī as his predecessors in the pontificial line. Thirdly, the short inscription in the temple of Lakulīša, at Chohṭaṇ as stated before, records the rebuilding

of that structure by an ascetic named Dharmarāśi, pupil of Uttamarāśi. These are the names of Śaiva ascetics we meet with in inscriptions, which we for certain know to be connected with the worship of temples of Lakulīśa. But names ending in *rāśi* also occur in other inscriptions which, though doubtless Śaiva, are not with certainty known to be Lakulīśa, records. Thus a Chitorgaḍh inscription[1] mentions the names Hārītarāśi, Mahesvararāśi, and Sivarāśi. This honorific suffix can also be traced in the names of the line of Śaiva *gurus* specified in an Ābū inscription.[2] The latest inscription, in which a name ending with *rāśi* occurs, was found by me at Kārvāṇ. It is engraved on a pilaster of about the eighth century now partly embedded in the ground near the temple of Pañchēśvara It could not have been more than two centuries old, and says that a certain sage named Vīrabhadrarāsi(śi) observed the vow of silence for twelve years in Kāyāvarohaṇa (Kārvāṇ).

I have stated in my previous paper that the worshippers of Lakulīśa were known as Pāśupatas. Thus, the Ēkliṅgjī inscription speaks of Kuiśka and others, pupils of Lakulīśa, as masters of Pāśupata yoga. The Crintra *praśasti* informs us that it was for the rigid fulfilment of the Pāśupata vows that there appeared the four ascetic pupils of Lakulīśa. The well-known Hārītarāśi, the preceptor of Bāpā Rāval the supposed progenitor of the Udaipur Gehlots, and the founder of a line of Saiva *gurus*, is spoken of in a Chitorgaḍh inscription as ***Śrī-Ēkaliṅga-Har-ārādhana pāśupatāchārya***. An inscription in the temple of Bhadrakālī at Prabhās Pāṭaṇ,[3] which speaks of Bhāva Bṛihaspati as possessing a body like that of Na(La)kulīśa, also tells us that he was really Nandīśvara, become incarnate to practise the Pāśupata vows. It will thus be seen that in North India at any rate the Pāśupatas, mentiond in epigraphic and other records, were followers of Lakulīśa. What became of these Pāśupatas, whether they were merged into an allied sect or assumed a different name, is a very interesting question, but I propose to discuss it and give my solution of it in a separate paper.



Fig. 7.

I shall now, as said at the outset, conclude this paper with an extract from a Jaina work entitled the *Tarkarahasya-dīpikā*. The latter is a commentary, on the *Shaḍ-darśana-samuchchaya*, composed by Śrī-Guṇaratnasūri, pupil of Śrī-Dēvasumdarasūri (circa 1363 A.D.) of the Tapāgachchha. The extract is as follows:

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[1] *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. LV, pt. I, p. 40.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 221-222.

[3] *Weiner Zeitschrift*, Vol. III, p. 7 ff.

बौद्धराद्धान्तस्य सौगतसिद्धान्तस्य यद्वाच्यं तस्य संक्षेपोयमनन्तरोदितो निवेदितोऽभिहित: नैयायिकमतस्य शैवशासनस्य संक्षेप इत ऊर्ध्वं कथ्यमानो निशाम्यतां श्रूयताम् । "नैयायिकानां योगा इति नामान्तरं आदौ तेषां लिंगादिव्यक्तिरुच्यते" [।] ते च दंडधरा: प्रौढकौपीनपरिधाना: कंबलिकाप्रावृता जटाधारिणो भस्मोद्धूलनपरा यज्ञोपवीतिनो जलाधारपात्रकरा: नीरसाहारा: प्रायो वनवासिनो दोर्मूले तुंबकं बिभ्राणा: कन्दमूलफलाशिन आतिथ्यकर्मनिरता: सस्त्रीका नि:स्त्रीकाश्च [।] नि:स्त्रीकास्तेषूत्तमा: [।] ते च पञ्चाग्निसाधनपरा: करे जटादौ च प्राणलिंगधराश्चापि भवन्ति [।] उत्तमां संयमावस्थां प्राप्तास्तु नग्ना भ्रमन्ति [।] एते प्रातर्दन्तपादादिशौचं विधाय शिवं ध्यायन्तो भस्मनाङ्गं त्रिस्त्रि: स्पृशन्ति [।] यजमानो वन्दमान: कृताञ्जलिर्वक्ति ओं नम: शिवायेति गुरुस्तथैव शिवाय नम इति प्रतिवक्ति [।] ते च संसद्येवं वदन्ति शैवीं दीक्षां द्वादशाब्दीं सेवित्वा योपि मुञ्चति दासी दासोपि भवति सोपि निर्वाणमृच्छति[।] तेषामीश्वरो देव: सर्वज्ञ: सृष्टिसंहारादिकृत्[।] तस्य चाष्टादशावतारा अमी[।]नकुली १ शौष्यकौशिक: २ गार्ग्य: ३ मैत्र्य: ४ अकौरुष: ५ ईशान: ६ पारगार्ग्य: ७ कपिलाण्ड: ८ मनुष्यक: ९ कुशिक: १० अत्रि: ११ पिंगल: १२ पुष्यक: १३ बृहदार्य: १४ अगस्ति: १५ संतान: १६ राशीकर: १७ विद्यागुरुश्च १८[।]एतेषां तीर्थेशा: पूजनीया:[।] एतेषां पूजाप्रणिधानविधिस्तु तदागमाद्वेदितव्य:[।] तेषां सर्वतीर्थेषु भरटा एव पूजका:[।] देवानां च नमस्कारो न संमुखै: कार्य: । तेषु ये निर्विकारास्ते स्वमीमांसागतमिदं पद्यं दर्शयन्ति [।] न स्वर्धुनी न फणिनो न कपालदाम नेन्दो: कला न गिरिजा न जटा न भस्म । यत्रान्यदेव च न किंचिदुपास्महे तद्रूपं पुराणमुनिशीलितमीश्वरस्य [॥]१ स एव योगिनां सेव्यो ह्यर्वाचीनस्तु भोगभाक् [।] स ध्यायमानो राज्यादिसुखलुब्धैर्निषेव्यते[॥]२ उक्तं च तै: स्वयोगशास्त्रे [॥]वीतरागं स्मरन्योगी वीतरागत्वमश्नुते [।] सरागं ध्यायतस्तस्य सरागत्वं तु निश्चितं [॥]३ येन येन हि भावेन युज्यते यन्त्रवाहक: [।] तेन तन्मयतां याति विश्वरूपो मणिर्यथा[॥]४ इति एतत्सर्वं लिंगवेषदेवादिस्वरूपं वैशेषिकमतेप्यवसातव्यं । यतो नैयायिकवैशेषिकाणां हि मिथ:प्रमाणतत्त्वानां संख्याभेदे सत्यप्यन्योन्यं तत्त्वानामन्तर्भाववनेऽल्पीयानेव भेदो जायते तेनैतेषां प्रायो मततुल्यता उभया अप्येते तपस्विनोऽभिधीयन्ते[।] ते च शैवादिभेदेन चतुर्धा भवन्ति[।]तदुक्तं [॥] आधारभस्मकौपीनजटायज्ञोपवीतिन:[।] स्वस्वाचारादिभेदेन चतुर्धा स्युस्तपस्विन:[॥]१ शैवा: पाशुपताश्चैव महाव्रतधरास्तथा[।]तुर्या: कालमुखा मुख्या भेदा एते तपस्विनां[॥२] तेषामन्तर्भेदा भरटभक्तलैङ्गिकतापसादयो भवन्ति [।] भरटादीनां व्रतग्रहणे ब्राह्मणादिवर्णनियमो नास्ति[।]यस्य तु शिवे भक्ति: स व्रती भरटादिर्भवेत् [।] परं शास्त्रेषु नैयायिका: सदाशिवभक्तत्वात् शैवा इत्युच्यन्ते[।] वैशेषिकास्तु पाशुपता इति[।]तेन नैयायिकशासनं शैवमाख्यायते वैशेषिकदर्शनं च पाशुपतमिति[।]इदं मया यथाश्रुतं यथादृष्टं चात्राभिदधे तत्तद्विशेषस्तु तद्ग्रन्थेभ्यो विज्ञेय:[।]

TRANSLATION.

A summary of what is set forth in the Buddhist doctrine has been given, (and now) let the abstract, which will be narrated hereafter of the doctrine of the Naiyāyikas, (*i.e.*) of Saiva teachings, be heard. "Yaugas is another name for Naiyāyikas, (and) first their individuality constituted by special characteristics and others will be spoken of." And they bear staves, (and) wear a broad piece of cloth over the privities.

They cover (their upper body) with woollen blankets, and bear matted hair. They smear their bodies with ashes, and put on the sacred thread. They hold water-pitchers, and take tasteless meals. They generally live in forests, bear gourds hanging from (their) shoulders, eat bulbs, roots and fruit (of trees), and take delight in the duties of hospitality. Some have wives and others not. Those without wives are the best amongst them. They are engaged in the performance of the five fire penances, and even bear a consecrated *liṅga* in their hands or matted hair. But those, who have attained to the perfect state of self-restraint, wander naked. After washing their mouth, feet, and so forth in the morning, they draw three stripes at a time of ashes on their body, while meditating on Śiva. The lay-worshipper patron, while doing obeisance, folds his hands and utters "*Ōm*, a bow to Śiva," and similarly the preceptor responds with "to Śiva a bow" And they in assemblies asseverate that even he, who, after resorting to the Śaiva initiatory consecration for twelve years, gives it up, obtains absolution, be he a male or female slave. To them Īśvara (Śiva) is God, omniscient, and causing creation, destruction, and so forth. The following are his eighteen incarnations:— (1) Nakulī, (2) Śaushya-Kauśika, (3) Gārgya, (4) Maitrya, (5) Akaurusha, (6) Īśāna, (7) Pāragārgya, (8) Kapilāṇḍa, (9) Manushyaka, (10) Kuśika, (11) Atri, (12) Piṁgala, (13) Pushyaka, (14) Bṛihadārya, (15) Agasti, (16) Saṁtāna, (17) Rāśīkara, and (18) Vidyāguru. These are their *tīrthēśas* to be venerated. The mode of their worship and prayers should be cognised from their scriptures. At all sacred places, Bharaṭas only are their worshippers. Salutation to gods should not be made by any with their faces turned towards them. Those amongst them, who are free from earthly passions, point out this verse contained in their philosophical literature: (verse 1) Not the Celestial river (Ganges), not the cobras, not the garland of skulls, not the digit of the moon, not the daughter of the mountain (Pārvatī), not the matted hair, not the ashes, nor anything else do we adore but that form of Īśvara, contemplated by the primeval sages. (Verse 2) He alone is fit to be resorted to by the ascetics. But (the god Śiva), who enjoys sensual objects, is of recent origin, and is meditated upon and resorted to by those who are covetous of the pleasures of regal power and so forth." And it has been said in their own *yōga-śāstra*: (Verse 3). "An ascetic, contemplating (a deity) free from attachment, enjoys freedom from attachment, but the quality of being possessed of attachment is certain to him, who meditates on (a divinity) possessed of attachment. (Verse 4) With whatever predominant object a Śaiva worshipper (literally the bearer of the mystic diagram) is filled, he is merged into it like a mirror reflecting multifarious (objects)." All this description of the characteristics, dress, object of worship, and so forth is to be taken as applying to the Vaiśēshika doctrine. Because although there are different theses of the Naiyāyikas and Vaiśēshikas, yet, in consequence of their being included one in the other, there remains very little distinction (between the two schools). Hence there is a conformity of their doctrines. They are both called ascetics (*tapasvinaḥ*). They are distinguished into four sects, such as Śaiva and so forth. It has been said: "The ascetics, who use a seat, ashes, cloth for privities, matted hair, and sacred thread, are four-fold, in consequence of the difference of their own practices and so forth. (Verse 2) Śaivas, Pāśupatas, Mahāvratadharas and Kālamukhas are the four principal divisions amongst these ascetics." Their sub-divisions, again, are Bharaṭas, Bhaktas, Laingikas

Tāpasas, and so forth. As regards the taking up of the religious vow in the case of Bharaṭas and others, there is no restriction about the castes, such as Brāhmaṇas, and so forth. He who has devotion for Śiva may become any *vratī* (taker of religious vow), such as Bharaṭa and others. But in philosophical sciences, Naiyāyikas, being devoted to Sadāśiva, are called—Śaivas. Vaiśēshikas, however, are Pāśupatas. Hence the teachings of Naiyāyikas are designated Śaiva, and Vaiśēshika philosophy Pāśupata. And this has been here recounted by me, according as it has been heard or seen. The particulars, however, of the various (sects) should be gathered from their works.

The above extract speaks for itself, and does not call for many remarks. The idea that the Pāśupatas are Vaiśēshikas and the Śaivas Naiyāyikas is no doubt fantastic, though it is true that Guṇaratnasūri did not himself conceive this, but specified what he merely heard or was informed of. It represents an attempt of the various religious sects to affiliate themselves to one of the six recognised schools of philosophy. One such instance, if required, is that of the Mānbhāv (Mahānubhāva) *pantha,* well known in Mahārāshṭra. It is unquestionably a Vaishṇava sect, but its literature, which is both in Sanskrit and the oldest Marāṭhī, speaks of it as a branch of the *Nyāya* school. Apart from this, the long account of the customs and religious practices of the Pāśupatas may be taken as reliable. And, as the Pāśupatas were the worshippers of Lakulīśa, the account must be supposed to refer to the devotees of that god. If any proof were needed, it is supplied by the list of the eighteen incarnations of Śiva accepted by them. The first five of them can easily be recognised to be Lakulī and his four disciples, Kuśika, Garga, Mitra, and Kaurushya.

D. R. BHANDARKAR.

NOTES IN THE GŌRAKHPUR AND SĀRAN DISTRICTS.

THE following notes were collected in the course of a journey in the districts of Gōrakhpur and Sāran undertaken by me in the latter half of November and December, 1906. Dr. Fleet had suggested this area for exploration to the Director-General of Archæology, and was good enough to supply me with a list of places supposed to be of archæological interest, numbering about fifty, which he was anxious for me to visit and report upon. He also gave me a number of notes relating to the antiquities of the districts. As regards the suggested location of Kusinārā near Pachrukhi and of the spot where Gautama crossed the Anōmā, which Dr. Fleet had been inclined to locate somewhere in the vicinity of Majhauli or at the village of Gautamāṁ near it, the results of my short tour must be regarded as rather of negative than positive value. But the journey was fruitful in other respects. At Rudarpur I discovered a colossal basalt statue of Vishṇu, which is as interesting for its superior workmanship as it is valuable for its early date. Another statue of this deity of about the same size and age which exists at Ḥasanpurā is too good for the malignant hatred with which it is looked upon by the population of the village. I have therefore suggested that the statue may be either set up at a suitable spot at the village itself or better still removed to the Lucknow Museum. At Sōhnāg there are the remains of a large Buddhist establishment consisting of a big monastery and several *stūpas*. These remains seem to be comparatively late, but they obviously stand on structures of a much earlier date. Of the inscriptions copied during the tour the most interesting is one incised on two copper plates recording the endowment of a certain village upon a brahman called Drōṇa, whose name, I believe, is still perpetuated by the village of Dōn Buzurg, where the plates have been found. Incidentally, also, I was able to determine by actual local enquiry the correct names of the places included in Dr. Fleet's list, some of which proved to be utterly devoid of any visible antiquities and will not be noticed in the subjoined notes.

Gōrakhpur.

My object in visiting the city of Gōrakhpur first of all was to secure a copy of a vernacular chronicle of the district called Gōrakhpurdarpan, which Dr. Vogel

had kindly suggested I should have with me in the course of the journey. The book was formerly taught in the schools of the district, but having fallen into disuse is now exceedingly rare. The copy now before me was obtained through the kindness of Mr. E. A. Molony, Collector and Magistrate of Gōrakhpur, though unfortunately it did not reach me until I was crossing on to the Sāran district. From the preface to the *Gōrakhpurdarpan* I learn that it is a translation of a history of the district published by Mr. A. Swinton, Commissioner of the Gorakhpur Division, in 1861. The booklet contains much useful information about the antiquities of the district.

The remains at and near Gōrakhpur have been fully described by Cunningham, Führer and others. According to popular belief the present city was founded by Gōrakshanātha, the founder of a Bairāgī sect about 1400 A. D.

Sohgaurā.

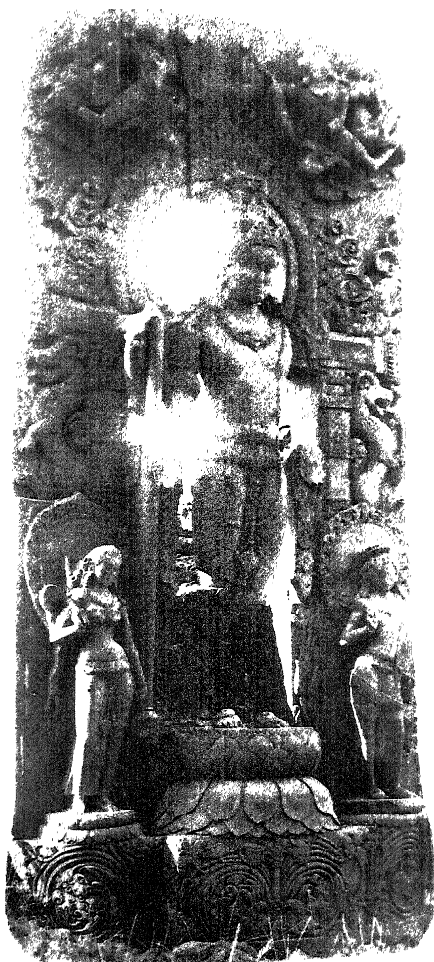
From Gōrakhpur I proceeded to Sohgaurā, some 18 miles south of Gōrakhpur, and well known for the inscribed copper plate discovered there by Dr. Hoey about 1893. Tradition has it that Sohgaurā formerly formed part of a large kingdom ruled successively by Ḍomrās, Ṭhārus and Bhars, the last mentioned of whom were ousted by a line of Śrīnet Kshattriya Rājas of Satāsī. According to the Viśvēn Vaṁśa Vāṭikā published by Rájá Lal Khadga Bahadur Malla of Majhauli in 1887, Satāsī (which means eighty-seven) was originally the name of a gift of 87 square kos of land bestowed upon the Śrīnets by a certain rājā of Majhauli. The Śrīnet rājās recruited their preceptors from among the Tiwārī brahmans of Sohgaurā, to whom they frequently granted large endowments of rent-free land and other privileges. Paper records of many such gifts are in the possession of a descendant of the above mentioned Tiwārī family and would be very helpful in the compilation of a chronological table of the Śrīnet clan.

Sohgaurā stands on the remains of some very ancient city and the numerous mounds of ruins which surround it on all sides offer a splendid field for exploration. The largest of these mounds is Ṭīkar Ḍīh situated on the south bank of the Āmī River, measuring some 220 paces from east to west and about 180 from north to south. It is impossible, of course, as yet to say anything about the nature of the remains buried under this and the other mounds, but their antiquity is sufficiently attested to by bricks measuring 17″ by 12″ by 4″, ancient coins, glazed pottery, broken figures etc., that turn up during the rains.

Rudarpur.

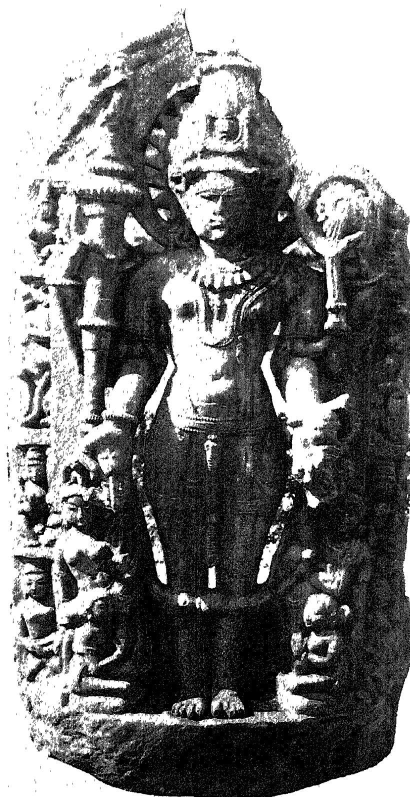
Rudarpur is situated some ten miles to south-west of Deoria and has for centuries been the chief town of the Satāsī Rāj. The place was closely examined for miles around by Mr. Carlleyle in 1885 and afterwards by Dr. Hoey. What chiefly attracted me to Rudarpur was a report about certain very ancient *brahmāksharas* incised on the lintel of the Dūdhnāth shrine. Nothing, however, could exceed my disappointment when after a tedious journey by a miserable cart-road I found that the record referred to was a vernacular epigraph consisting of 13 syllables of no value or interest, and inscribed in Nāgarī characters of the 16th or 17th century. I propose to read :—

Line 1.—Ōṁ (expressed by a symbol) Jōga pa dha ga


(a)


(b)


(c)


(d)

(a) STATUE OF VIṢṆU, RUDARPUR. (b) IMAGE OF VIṢṆU, SOHNĀG.

(c) IMAGE OF MAHIṢĀSURAMARDINĪ, SILAUR (d) IMAGE OF VIṢṆU, SOHNĀG.

Line 2.—Chanda jōgī lēshītaḥ.

The reading of the first line is doubtful. It seems to contain some religious title like Jōgōpādhyāya, etc.

Rudarpur is essentially a Śaiva town and the only non-Śaiva antiquities I noticed there are (1) a small figure of Mahāvīra, the last Jaina *tīrthaṅkara* of the present cycle, lying in the Gaurī-Śaṅkara shrine in the Dūdhnāth temple, and (2) a colossal statue, 10 feet high, of Vishṇu (Pl. LXXIV, (a) in fine grained black stone. This statue is contained in an arched opening cut through the stone, which it touches only at the top and at the shoulders. The legs are broken away up to the knees, and the feet, which are consequently totally detached from the image itself, rest on a boldly executed full-blown lotus. There were originally four arms, but only the upper right one, which holds the *gadā*, now remains. The base is adorned with exquisite acanthus decoration. The statue bears no inscription, but from the style of carving, it may be safely referred to the 6th or 7th century A. D. The sculpture is now fixed in the ground, to what depth cannot be made out, and is supported from behind by a low brick built wall. Badly cracked as it is both at the top and at the base, it can be preserved for a long time to come if only the wall behind it is repaired and carried up a couple of feet above its present height.

The ancient remains near Rudarpur are called Chhōṭā and Baṛā Sahankōṭ; or simply Kōṭ. Various conjectures have been proposed regarding the origin of Sahankōṭ. According to popular belief it was founded by Brahmā himself, when he resided in Kāśī, and the author of the Viśvēnavaṁśavāṭikā surmises that the real name was Śyēna-Kōṭṭa or the fort of the Śyēnas, which name he believes to be a corruption of Viśvēna.

Both the small and the great fort are now entirely desolate, and all that remains of them are the foundations of their circuit walls, covered with heaps of earth.

The whole of the area enclosed by the Chhōṭā Kōṭ is under cultivation, but there are still several large mounds of ruins in the Baṛā Kōṭ. Of these, by far the largest and highest mound is that situated some 100 yards east of the west wall. It is known as the " Baṛā deol," and apparently represents the remains of some important monument. It is some 800′ in circumference at the base. The top is occupied by a Sādhu's hut, in front of which, on a small platform, I saw a number of mediæval fragmentary sculptures belonging to the Vaishṇava and Śaiva cults. Of the remaining mounds, two or three, situated to the east of this, are said to have been opened out by Dr. Hoey and to have yielded Hindu shrines of no great antiquity.

The circuit wall of the Baṛā Kōṭ shows five large gaps, *viz.*, two on the south side and one on each of the remaining three, which seem to represent the gateways of the castle.

The Dūdhnāth temple stands about a furlong to the east of the fort, in the centre of a large quadrangle, along the sides of which there are no less than eight shrines, all of which, with the exception of the octagonal one in the south-west corner, must have been built within the last forty or fifty years. A few of the images worshipped in them, together with some fragmentary ones stored in the verandah of the main shrine, have been obtained from the ruins inside the fort, the most noteworthy being the one in the shrine occupying the north-west corner of the quadrangle. It

represents Gaṇēśa in the dancing attitude, and, according to a vernacular inscription carved in stucco over the doorway of the Porch, was installed in Saṁvat 1936, Faṣlī year 1286.

The central shrine has been covered up with a thick coating of plaster which precludes all possibility of ascertaining its precise date. This much, however, is certain that it is much older than the short epigraph on its lintel, which was possibly incised at the time the shrine was surrounded by the verandah. The *liṅgaṁ* in it, which attracts a large gathering on the Śivarātri festival each year, is an irregularly shaped block of black stone, probably a meteorite.

Majhauli.

Since there was no route leading direct from Rudarpur to Majhauli, I had to return to Deoria, where I took train for Bhāṭpār Railway Station, with which Majhauli is connected by a good metalled road

That the name was spelt as Majhauli at least as far back as the time of Rājā Bodhmall, a contemporary of Aurangzeb, is proved by a paper document dated in Saṁvat 1692 kindly shown to me by the Mahārāja Sāhib. The same spelling occurs in a Persian inscription discovered by Dr. Bloch in the Pathar-kī-masjid at Patna, which states that the material for the building of the mosque was obtained from a temple and a fort demolished at Majhauli for the purpose.

The Rājās of Majhauli belong to the Viśvēna family of Kshatriyas, fabled to have sprung from an ancient sage named Mayūrabhaṭṭa, who practised penance at a place now called Kakrāḍīh situated some 15 miles south-west of Majhauli. The place is still considered holy and every new successor to the Rāj is anointed at his installation with clay specially brought from there.

Majhauli at the present day possesses but few antiquities. Indeed, the only ones worth mentioning are an image of the Mahishāsuramardinī Durgā, lying under a tree near the Rājā's palace, and a ruined shrine of Dīrghēśvara Mahādēva of unknown date, situated among a mass of ancient remains a little to the east of the town. Majhauli must have been a place of some importance in past ages, if, as suggested by Dr. Fleet, it should prove to be the place where Buddha crossed the Anumā. It is true that some four miles from Majhauli near the railway line between the stations of Salēmpur and Bhaṭnī there is a small but ancient village called Anuāṁpār[1] meaning "across the Anuṁā" or more freely "the crossing of the Anuṁā," which may well be an *apabhraṁśa* of Anumā, but the absence of any stream of such a name anywhere in the neighbourhood offers a difficulty in the way of the identification. The channel running past the village is called Pūsī. Nor does the locality show any remains which can be called Buddhist.

Salēmpur.

According to the Viśvēnavaṁśavāṭikā, this village was formerly called Nagar, and its present name is due to Rājā Bodhmall of Majhauli, who, having been converted to Islām by Aurangzeb under the new name of Salemkhān, never returned to his native place but retired to this village to pass his remaining days away from his

[1] Dr. Fleet thinks it to be the 'Anwanpur' of the Indian Atlas sheet No. 102, in lat. 26° 20' long. 83° 59' just above Burseepar.

relatives. The Rājā now lies buried under a miserable brick grave 26′ × 25′ × 5′ high, some 200 yards to the south of Sāīn-kā-kaṭarā, on the east bank of the Little Gandak opposite the village of Navalpur. The grave is in the charge of a Muhammadan faqīr but is fast crumbling away.

In the middle of the village is a small temple consisting of a small square cell, surmounted with a domical roof, which was originally encased in a closed-in brick verandah, fragments of whose walls still survive. Inside the cell I noticed a few modern sculptures of Vishṇu, Śiva, etc. A Muhammadan mosque with a well situated in the Kasāī Mahalla or Butcher Street also deserves notice. The prayer chamber is a rectangle 41′-7″ × 12′-3.″ The walls are 3′ thick. Over the central archway in the façade is a Persian inscription which reads:—Zi daur-i-S͟hāh-i-Jahān s͟hud binā-i-masjid-o-chāh. "This mosque and the well were built in the reign of S͟hāh Jahān." The hemistich also yields the Hijra year 1065 (A.D. 1654) as the date of the building.

Sōhnāg.

Situated some 3 miles to south-west of Majhauli. There is no regular road and the pathway lies all along through cultivated fields.

The village is noted for Sōhanchhatragaṛh, the popular name of a tank, and some very extensive and important remains situated on the west bank of it as well as a few comparatively late Brahmanical temples. The first of these is held in great reverence by the Hindus, who assemble here in large numbers on the 3rd of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha each year to have a dip in its sanctifying waters. Its excavation and construction is attributed by the people to a Rājā named Sōhan, who being cured of white leprosy by an ablution in its water, deepened and built it at the instruction of Paraśurāma, who visited him in a dream. The western bank is still lined, with a series of brick built stairs, of which the central one is still called Paraśurāma's ghāṭ. The bricks used measure 9½″ × 7″ × 3″.

The ruins on the west bank of the *pōkharā*, described by Mr. V. A. Smith in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1900, page 431, are interesting. Of these the largest structure, the Vihāra, is now but a mound of earth, all the bricks having been used up in the construction of the Bengal and North-Western Railway. The only portions of the building still under ground are the south-west corner of quadrangle No. III, and a part of the west block of cells in the northernmost quadrangle (see Mr. Smith's map). This excavation was a piece of unpardonable vandalism. But perhaps not much has been lost. The interior of the cells has in no case been disturbed, so that what antiquities were originally here can still be easily recovered.

Regarding the seven mounds, situated six to the west and one to the east of the Vihāra, I have no doubt that they are all remains of *stūpas*. This view is supported not only by the conical shape of the mounds and the forms of bricks peculiar to *stūpas* with which the tumuli are covered, but also by actual trial digging. The small low mound, situated some 150′ west of Paraśurāma's shrine (see Mr. Smith's site plan) was opened and revealed a solid brick plinth, 18′ east to west and 18′-7″ north to south. There is a double projection on each of the north, east and west faces. On the

south side there is only a single step, 4′ wide and jutting 1′-5″ beyond the wall, which probably gave access to a narrow circumambulatory passage on the plinth. The superstructure was all gone with the exception of a few layers of the drum. The top of the plinth was found at a depth of between 2′ and 3′ below the surface of the mound. The sizes of bricks used in this *stūpa* are identical with those in the Vihāra. Some of them are highly ornamental.

The following antiquities were found in the course of the excavation :—

(1) A headless terra-cotta image of Buddha seated on a full-blown lotus in the bhūmisparśa attitude. The figure is 6½″ wide at base. This was found embedded in the plinth at a point 5′-6″ west of east side and 9′-3½″ from each of the north and south walls.

(2) A circular clay tablet, complete in four fragments, 3″ in diameter. Contains in an oval shaped incuse a figure of Maitrēya standing in a somewhat crooked position on a distended lotus and the Buddhist creed in the characters of about the 10th century. The right hand of the figure is stretched out, and holds a flask, though the latter generally appears in the left hand. The left one grasps the middle of a lotus which rises from near the *āsana*. To the proper right of the deity's head appears a miniature *chaitya* and an uncertain object to the left.

(3) Fragment of a large oval shaped clay tablet, 5″ long, bearing the figure of a *bōdhisattva*-devotee seated on a lotus. The right hand is lifted up, and above it is depicted a lotus and an asterisk.

(4) Small circular clay tablets stamped with the Mahāyāna formula, in mediæval characters.

(5) Copper coin of Abu-l-Fatḥ Governor of Ibrāhīm Shāh of Jaunpur. Found near surface of mound.

(6) Copper coin of Shāh ʻ Ālam, King of Delhi.

(7) Small coin marked with a star surrounded with fragments of writing which cannot be recognised. The legend on the reverse is also unintelligible.

These antiquities have been all sent to the Lucknow Provincial Museum.

There are altogether three Hindu temples at Sōhnāg—

(1) Mahādēva's shrine, to the north of the Vihāra. This is a modern building consisting of two rooms, of which the north one contains an image of Vishṇu, 3′-3″ high and 1′-7½″ wide with the usual emblems and a large Śiva-liṅgaṁ.

(2) Gaurī-Śaṅkara shrine. Is a square room 11′-9″ along each side. The image enshrined in it is 19″ high and 10″ wide and is in black stone.

(3) Paraśurāma's shrine. It is a square room 11′-6″ each way, surmounted by a Saracenic dome, supposed to have been built by one Navāz Singh Chakladar some 200 years ago. Inside the shrine I saw several sculptures of which the following deserve notice :—

(*a*) Vishṇu standing, 3′ high × 9″ wide. (Pl. LXXIV, b). On pedestal, Varāha, Kachchhapa, Matsya, and other *avatāras*. The Buddha-avatāra is depicted near the top of the mace. Material, stone.

(*b*) Brahmā standing. Has 3 faces and 4 hands, of which the upper left holds the usual palm-leaf manuscript. Material, stone. 2′-5″ high × 1′-3″ wide.

(*c*) Paraśurāma with usual emblems. 3′-3″ high × 1′-7″ wide Material, stone.

(*d*) Another image of Nārāyaṇa. 4′×2′. Top piece missing. Material, stone.

Bhāgalpur.

Some 10 miles south-west of Salēmpur. The inscription on the stone pillar (A. S. R. XVI, p. 130 and Pls. XXX, XXXI), for which the place is chiefly noted, has suffered so much from the hand of both time and man that very little can be made of it. The first verse praises Bhujagāṅgaka the serpent-adorned Vishṇu. In the second line we read वच्च [:*] स्थलराजिकौस्तुभो विभर्ति रम्योरसि. The third line begins with सूर्यान्वये दशरथ: प्रथितो बभूव. This Daśaratha is probably the same as the father of Rāmachandra. From these and other bits of information contained in the record one can easily infer that the pillar was set up by a Vashiṇava King of the solar race. The date, which was recorded in the Vikrama era, is unfortunately lost.

Khairā.

Khairā, situated on the right bank of the Ghagra exactly opposite to Bhāgalpur (A. S. R. XXI, p. 108), is the name of a large collection of ruins said to cover an area of over 70 bīghas. The remains are the property of a Vaishṇava sādhu who dwells on the spot, but are being fast swept away by the river which flows quite close to them.

I next proceeded to Dōn Buzurg, visiting *en route* the villages of Sōhagarā (once the head-quarters of the Majhauli State) and Silaur.

The former of these possesses extensive remains of a fort, now overgrown with thick jungle, and a Śivālaya built on a high mound in Chhoṭā Sōhagarā. The temple is said to have been built by Rānī Dilrājkuar of Majhauli, and contains besides the large black stone liṅgaṁ in the main shrine, a grey sandstone slab bearing figures of the 11 Rudras and other Brahmanic sculptures fixed in the west wall of the compound.

The temple is approached from the east by means of an imposing flight of steps, and is constructed in the late Saracenic style.

The village of Silaur is some 5 miles south-east of Sōhagarā. In the centre of the village is a modern walled-in court with a collection of Brahmanic sculptures obtained from the ruins to the south of the village. The most important piece is an image of Mahishāsuramardinī, 2′-4″×1′-1″ (Pl. LXXIV, c). Close to this is a large Śivālaya in a compound with Saracenic cupolas in the corners. The latter contain well-carved images of Gaṇēśa, Sūrya on a chariot drawn by the seven horses, Durgā and Hanumān crushing Ahirāvaṇa with his left foot.

The remains referred to above are situated at the south end of the village and are known as Bhṛigu-kā-sthāna and the gaṛh. The former is a large platform now almost level with the ground situated under an ancient Pakṛī tree, composed of bricks measuring 15″ long and 9″ wide.

The gaṛh consists of a small low mound, surrounded by four still smaller ones which people call the towers of the fort. One of these was partly opened but proved to be only a well 12′ in diameter filled up with rubble.

Dōn Buzurg.

At Dōn Buzurg I was to report on an ancient site known as Drōṇ-kā-ghar. Droṇ-kā-ghar or Drōṇ-kā-gaṛh, as it is also called, is now the name of a cultivated field

situated to the east of the village and separated from it by the pakka road leading to Mairwā. The field is extensively worshipped by the Hindus with offerings of milk in the month of Śrāvaṇa. An old man, perhaps the oldest in the village, narrated to me the following legend about it: "This field marks the exact site of the house of Drōṇa the well-known military preceptor of the Kaurava and Pāṇḍava princes. He was a skilled physician, and was invited on one occasion to Laṅkā to prescribe medicine for Bībhīkshaṇa, brother of Rāvaṇa, who suffered from some incurable disease. Drōṇa was therefore carried to Ceylon with the house in which he dwelt. On the recovery of the demon king, Drōṇa was permitted to see the capital of the country, and was surprised to see the markets full of corn of all sorts though the agricultural condition of the country was far from prosperous. His host, however, explained to him that the abundance of corn in his kingdom was due to his miraculous powers, which could draw the essence of the cultivation of the whole world. Drōṇa begged that his village might be exempted from this drain and obtained the reply that a solitary bīgha of land in his village should yield 100 maunds of corn, while the rest would be treated like all else. Drōṇa thanked him and returned to his village (Dōn) but his house did not." This legend has to be taken for what it is worth, but the field, though now cultivated every season, has certainly contained remains which have been dug away by the cultivators. At a spot in the eastern edge one can still see survivals of a stout paving composed of a thick layer of cement laid on a single course of bricks The village itself stands on a vast plateau of remains extending in the eastern direction as far as the mound known as Bānāsur-kā ṭīlā. The common size of bricks found does not exceed $11\frac{1}{4}'' \times 9'' \times 2''$. The people find many gold and copper coins in the rainy season. The former, they say, are generally round and contain human figures on one side and some writing on the other. The copper coins found are generally square. I was unable to procure any specimens.

The village has now become famous in the neighbourhood for the discovery of a Sanskrit inscription of Gōvindachandradēva of Kānyakubja carved on two copper plates accidentally unearthed by a chamār in a field midway between the villages of Dōn and Maṭhiyā. The plates are now in the possession of the Mahārāja of Majhauli, to whom I am much indebted for all the interest he took in my work. The plates will be published as a postscriptum to the article I am preparing for the Epigraphia Indica on the important copper plate found at Sahēṭh in the Gonda District.

Mairwā.

At Mairwā, a Railway Station on the Bengal and North-Western Railway and connected with Dōn Buzurg by a good metalled road, I saw :

(1) Chananniyāṁ Ḍīh, a lofty mound, over 600′ in perimeter at the base, situated on an extensive plateau running parallel to the Railway Station. Chananniyāṁ is said to have been an Ahīr woman about whom the people tell a very indecent story. She is now worshipped as Durgā in a tiny modern shed built in front of the Dak Bungalow, which occupies the top of the mound. There are no means of ascertaining what remains the mound contains. Its external appearance would lead one to consider it a *stūpa.*

(2) *Hari Bābā kā sthān* situated on the Jharahī River about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the

Railway Station. It is a modern shrine built over the *samādh* of a sādhu named Hari Bābā. The *samādh* is a mud platform, faced with stone slabs, and surmounted with a small mud grave which contains the remains of the sādhu. This recluse is supposed to have been a disciple of Tulasī. I gather the following account of the bābā's death from a vernacular manuscript styled *Bābā Harī's Pāṭh.* "Hari Bābā was born at Bamnauli 5 miles south-east of Mairwā. His dog and buffalo were snatched from him by a chief of Mairwā, named Kanak Sāhi (his seventh descendant is a minor). The sādhu devastated his fort and himself committed suicide."

(3) Mound, a furlong to south-east of (2). It measures 100′ north to south and 93′ east to west at top and about 200′ along each side at the base. Average elevation 20′ above surrounding ground. People call it the fort of Kanak Sāhi mentioned above. The small round mounds attached to the south-east, south-west and north-west corners seem to have been towers. On the top there is a narrow deep well made up of small bricks.

Bhāṇṭāpōkhar.

This is another Railway Station on the Bengal and North-Western Railway. Dr. Fleet was informed of the existence of remains of a brick *stūpa* at this place. I carefully searched both the ṭolās into which the village is divided, but could not trace any ruins.

Titīrā.

Near Titīrā, a village situated a little to west of Bhāṇṭāpōkhar, there are two ruins which Dr. Fleet conjectured might be *stūpas*. One of these, known as Mūyāṁgaṛh, is a large enclosure 800′ north to south by 700′ east to west, surrounded by walls which are all in ruins. In the centre of the enclosure stands a rectangular mound 181′ east to west and 137′ north to south, in which brick is exceedingly rare but modern pottery abundant. A pit on the top appears to be the remnant of a well. The south-west portion of the enclosure is occupied by a low mound, 400′ in perimeter, which appears to cover a large four-sided brick structure.

The other ruin, called Bhāṅgaṛā and situated about 3½ furlongs south-west of the village of the same name, is also a quadrangular building. It is much smaller in dimensions (330′ east to west and 382′ north to south) than the Mūyāṁgaṛh, but is indicated as decidedly much older by the ancient glazed pottery and large-size baked bricks with which the site is covered. Here, too, the middle portion of the building is taken up by a mound 75′ north to south and 66′ east to west, of the character of which nothing can be stated with certainty. At the south-east corner of the gaṛh, however, there is an eminence circular at the base (180′ in perimeter) and pointed at top, which may perhaps be a *stūpa*. It is approximately 20′ high and shows indications of considerable antiquity.

Kaliñjrā.

The village of Kaliñjrā, a few miles to the east of Bhāṇṭāpōkhar, is noted for an earthen castle designated *Chēron-kā-gaṛh* by the Hindus; the Muhammadans of

the place attribute its construction to one Rājā 'Alī Bakhsh to be referred to below. It is a large place, measuring about 440′ along each side and about 25′ high. The ditch around it is 100′ wide. The corners are occupied by circular mounds, probably remains of towers. The whole site is now overgrown with thick thorny jungle, and is seldom approached by villagers.

Siwān.

The ancient remains at Siwān consist of two sites. One of these, known as Jagattrā, is the name of a very small earthern mound about a furlong to the north of the Railway Station. It is 21′ broad from north to south and 25′ long from east to west at the base, and is only 5′ high above the level of the fields. An ancient pīpal tree that formerly stood on it has fallen down, and we now see on its top only a small fragment, 16″ high, of modern walling, a platform made of the same sort of modern bricks, and a small broken sculpture. Two fairs are held on the spot each year, namely, on the first Sundays occurring in the white fortnight of Mārgaśīrsha and Vaiśākha. Old men of the place narrate the following story about the mound: "Two Shaikhs named Bhīkh and Kabīr saved the state of Majhauli from some enemy in the absence of the Rājā. The latter was delighted and gave them some land in the neighbourhood of Bhāṇṭāpōkhar. The Shaikhs began to reside at the village of Khālispur near Kaliñjrā referred to above. Soon after they invaded the fort of Rājā Jagattrā which occupied the whole of the area between the Railway Station and the Purānā Qila' to be noticed presently. The fort was won and the Rājā slain. But the spirit of Jagattrā haunted them and allowed them no rest. The Shaikhs therefore approached a faqīr named Roḍāsā, who advised them to grant land to brahmans and Muhammadan faqīrs. The mound now known as Jagattrā marks the spot where the Rājā was beheaded." The grave of Roḍāsā stands about 100′ yards to the north of Jagattrā.

The other site stands two furlongs to the north of Jagattrā and is called the Purānā Qila' or "Old Fort." It is alleged to have been built by the Shaikhs mentioned above. It measures 331′ from north to south and 221′ from east to west. All the buildings now extant are made of mud. The ditch surrounding the gaṛh is deep and broad.

Another monument to be noticed here is a mosque bearing a Persian inscription which may be translated as follows: "The pious 'Alī Bakhsh built this holy edifice in A. H. 1165 (A. D. 1751) for the praise of God."

Gōsōpālī.

At the village of Gōsōpālī, situated on the Sundī Nadī, I was to find old remains on both the banks of the river. Some remains I did find though not at Gōsōpālī, but near the village Rēṇuāṁ, ½ mile to north of Gōsōpālī, and on the west bank of the stream. They consist of an irregularly-shaped mound, 108′ north to south and 42′ east to west. The accumulation of rubbish on the surface exceeds five feet, and though I dug at one or two promising spots I only found small detached bricks measuring 8″×8″×1½″, and plenty of calcined bones, but no structures of any kind.

Papaur

Possesses a large tank measuring 284′ east to west × 322′ north to south and lined with low mounds on all sides. That these mounds are not mere heaps of earth is amply proved by the numbers of punch-marked coins that turn up here frequently.

Āndar.

The village of Āndar, or Ānnar, is situated some 11 miles to the south of Siwān and about a mile to the south-west of the confluence of the Dāhā Nadī with Sonnā Nārā. To the west of the village there is a large mound of ruins called Masudāhāṁ-kī-dīh. It extends towards the east and west 600′ and narrows down towards the north and south to 300′ only. Two prominent features of these remains are a conical mound on the southern portion, and a small brick pavement composed of bricks of the same dimensions towards the north. The remains on the surface are of a relatively late date, but that the occupation of the place goes back to very early times was proved by a little excavation made by me towards the western boundary of the site. There are mounds also at the villages of Tiāṁy and Asāōṁ a few miles to the west of Āndar on the road from Siwān, but of no great age. The villagers call them the castles of Iksariā Rājpūts, local chieftains of 200 years ago, and I have no reason to doubt them.

Balahūṁ (on the Jharahī).

At the village of Balahūṁ, situated about 2 miles to the north of the 42nd mile on the Chupra-Drauli road, there is a rather unusually large image of Mahādēva, measuring 5′-3″ high. The base of the image is rough and square, 7″ each way. There is evidently no basin, though the villagers insist on their having seen it some forty years ago when the old Pakṛī tree, under which it originally stood, fell down and was replaced by the banyan now sheltering it.

From Balahūṁ I proceeded to Ḥasanpurā where Dr. Fleet had heard of the existence of considerable traces of remains and an image of basalt. In the course of the first sixteen miles, which I had to travel by the Chupra-Drauli road, I saw several temples, but none earlier than the 17th or 18th century, and two large mounds. One of them standing close on the north of the village of Pañjwār at the 31st mile on the road appears to be only a mud-built castle of a local zamindar like those noticed at Kaliñjrā, Tiāṁy, etc., but the other one situated between the 29th and 28th miles of the same road is more important. It is known merely as the gaṛh or castle of Kachnār, the modern village surrounding it on three sides, and measures about 100′ each way. The height exceeds 40 feet, of which the upper 15 or 20 feet are composed obviously of mud. The lower strata, however, show indications of some very early monument, which should be excavated. The bricks in it measure $19'' \times 11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$.

The rest of the journey to Ḥasanpurā lay along the Siwān-Sīswān road. No antiquities were met with on the way with the exception of the Śiva temple known as Mēhṁdār situated near the village of Chainpur. The main shrine is said to have been built by a certain Gurkha Chief about 200 years ago, but the verandah and the accessory shrines containing images of Bhairava, Bhagavatī, etc., are even more

modern. The temple is situated on the bank of a large tank, the extent of which is described in the following vernacular couplet:—

"Tīn sau bīghe kā pōkharā,
Aṇṭhānwe bīghe kī ghāṭ;
Ek dhur bachal pā,
Uhi meṁ gaṛal jā jāṭh."

Translation: The tank measures 300 bīghas and the landing place 98; the wooden post alone occupies one dhur (equivalent to six cubits).

Ḥasanpurā.

The village of Ḥasanpūrā, situated at the 11th mile on the above-mentioned road, is said to have been founded by one Makhdūm Ḥasan, who belonged to the Saiyyid family of Arrāq in Persia. He now lies buried under a small grave in a large open court (*mizār*) to the west of the village. The grave is lighted each evening with lamps placed on a stone stand, probably the capital of a *stūpa.* It is in front of this enclosure that the basalt image spoken of above is lying on its face. An ancient and exceedingly beautiful image of Vishṇu, about 10′ high, it is being most ruthlessly treated by the villagers. It is regarded as an inauspicious *deoni* (fiend) overthrown and turned into stone by the holy Makhdūm who founded the village, and must not be raised or placed erect.

The image had been lifted only twice before me, once by Dr. Hoey and again by an officer of the Bengal Government, and no small persuasion had to be used for permission to photograph it. The image contains no inscription, but on the evidence of its style it may be safely assigned to about the 7th century A.D.

This is all I saw at Ḥasanpurā. Enquiries were repeatedly made about the existence of any remains of buildings (dīhs), but the villagers were evidently not aware of any.

Sārangpur.

This place was visited from Siwān; the journey comprised 11½ miles, *i.e.*, 1½ miles on the Chupra to Gōrakhpur road, 9 miles on the Siwān to Basatpur road, and the remainder by the Gōpālganj to Baṛhariā road.

According to the inhabitants of the village, there were formerly several mounds of remains here, but they have all been levelled down. The only one which now survives, in a small low eminence under an old pakṛī tree about 2 furlongs to the south-east of the village, is called the Baramthān. Old coins have turned up in numbers, but I could not procure any.

Bhīkhāband.

Situated at the 14th mile on the Siwān to Tājpur road. The road is here lined with a series of fields considerably higher than the ordinary ground level and still called dīhs. The fields have been under cultivation for years, but pottery and brickbats are still abundant. An ancient well has been recently opened up by the cultivators in one of these fields, and I have no doubt that there are many other structures still hidden under the ground.

Pachrukkhī.

The village of Pachrukkhī 'five trees,' is at a Railway Station on the Bengal and North-Western Railway, and it is somewhere in the neighbourhood of this village that Dr. Fleet is inclined to locate the scene of Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*. I carefully searched several villages round Pachrukkhī for any antiquities that might be still extant, but in vain.

Tājpur Basahī.

At Tājpur Basahī, situated about a mile south-east of Sārān Khāṣṣ, I witnessed a basalt slab carved with the figures of the Navagrahas on one side and an Arabic inscription in the Ṭughrā character on the other. The slab is now lying on the grave of a Muhammadan Saint named Khwāja Bādshāh, and should be transferred to the Lucknow Provincial Museum.

Chirān.

In connection with this place I can only say that I agree with all that Mr. Carlleyle has said in the A. S. R., Vol. XXII, though I must confess I was unable to trace the *stūpa*-like structure on the principal mound to the east of the village. All these mounds undoubtedly cover numerous ancient remains, of the nature of which nothing can be said until they are excavated.

DAYA RAM SAHNI.

EPIGRAPHY.

THE number of inscriptions copied during the year was 771. Of these, 640 were copied in the Southern, 53 in the Western, 29 in the Northern, 11 in the Frontier Circle, and 38 in Burma. To these must be added inscriptions discovered during the excavations at Sārnāth. See above pp. 95—101.

Of the *Epigraphia Indica*, Parts IV—VII of Volume VIII, and Part I of Volume IX were published. They contain several important contributions to the history of India. In the first place, I may mention Dr. Vogel's edition of the Aśōka inscription and other epigraphs excavated by Mr. Oertel at Sārnāth and mentioned in my report for 1904-05.[1]

Dr. Bloch contributes a paper on two inscriptions on Buddhist images belonging to the Kushaṇa period. One of them is the famous Bōdhisattva image found by Cunningham at Saheṭh Maheṭh, which makes it highly probable that that place is the old Śrāvasti.[2]

A new inscription of the Parivrājaka Saṁkshōbha, dated Gupta Saṁvat 199 has been published by Pandit Hira Lal, and Professor Hultzsch has edited two new grants of the Valabhī king Dhruvasēna, from the Gupta years 320 and 321 respectively.

Some interesting contributions to the history of Kanauj are due to Professor Kielhorn. In a paper on two grants of the time of Mahēndrapāla, in which mention is made of some Chālukya feudatories who are not elsewhere known, he shows that Mahēndrapāla was also known under the name of Mahēndrāyudha. This name recalls the names of king Indrāyudha, who according to the *Harivaṁśa-Purāṇa* reigned in Kanauj in A. D. 783-84, and of Chakrāyudha, who succeeded to the throne when Indrarāja (Indrāyudha) was defeated by Dharmapāla, and who was himself overcome by Nāgabhaṭa, of whom we have an inscription dated in A. D. 815. Another paper deals

[1] An inspection of the collotype accompanying Dr. Vogel's paper will show that something has been scratched out immediately before the short inscription of Rājan Aśvaghōsha on the Aśōka pillar. A close inspection of the original has convinced me that the first word of this inscription *parigeyhē* belongs to a slightly older inscription, from which the name of the donor has been erased. A similar cancelling of the original name of the donor and substitution of another name is also found in another Sārnāth inscription. Compare my remarks above, p. 96.

[2] It is not, perhaps, impossible to derive the form *Set* directly from *Śrāvasti*. A Prākrit *Sāatthi* might become *Seth*, as *taḍāga* becomes *tale* in Marāthi. Compare also Sialkot, from Sākala. For further proofs see *Ind. Ant.*, XXXVII, p. 180, and *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 291. [Dr. Bloch informs me that the modern name of the site of Śrāvastī is Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh, not Sāhet Māhet as Cunningham spelt it. 'It seems to me very doubtful' adds Dr. Bloch 'if Sahēṭh really can be taken as a modern form of the ancient name Śrāvastī, for how did the *h* find its way into the name? and what caused the last letter to be changed into a lingual sound '*ṭh*'?—V. Venkayya.]

with five copper-plate inscriptions of Gōvindachandra of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty. Professor Kielhorn has also republished the important Vasantgaḍh inscription of the Paramāra chief Pūrṇapāla, who ruled at Mount Ābū. The inscription is dated Vikrama Saṁvat 1099, and Pūrṇapāla was accordingly a contemporary of the Paramāra Bhōja, famous in the history of Indian literature. Two poems ascribed to him and written in Māhārāshṭrī Prākrit, which were discovered engraved on stone slabs at Dhār in November 1903, have been edited by Professor Pischel. They are of small literary value, and certainly not the work of Bhōja himself.

A new dynasty has been brought to light by Paṇḍit Hira Lal in a paper on the Ragholi plate of Jayavardhana II. He is said to belong to the Śailavaṁśa, and the editor shows reasons for identifying this family with the Gāṅgavaṁśa. The family ruled in the Vindhyas, and their capital was probably in the Nāgpur district.

Professor Hultzsch has published some inscriptions which throw light on the history of the Āḷupas, a little known dynasty which appears to have existed as a ruling family from the seventh down to the eleventh century.

The same scholar also publishes a copper-plate inscription of the Eastern Chalukya Sarvalōkāśraya dated in A.D. 673, and contributes a new edition of the Nausārī plates of Śryāśraya Śīlāditya, who belonged to the Gujarāt branch of the Chalukyas. The inscription is dated in Saṁvat 421, which must refer to the Kalachuri era. Fresh information about the Vāghēlā line of the Chaulukyas is contained in a paper contributed by Professor Lüders about some Jaina inscriptions from Mount Ābū. They also contain genealogies of Tējaḥpāla, the minister of the Chaulukya king Vīradhavala, and of the Paramāras of Chandrāvatī, who seem to be clearly connected with the Mount Ābū line, to which Pūrṇapāla belonged. One of them, named Yaśōdhavala, must have been a feudatory of the Chaulukya Kumārapāla. He is stated to have killed Ballāla, the lord of Mālava, who is not elsewhere known but who must belong to the troubled times following on the death of Yaśōvarman (between A.D. 1135 and 1144).

The history of the Rāshṭrakūṭas has been dealt with by Professor Hultzsch and Mr. Bhandarkar. The former republishes the Uṇḍikavāṭikā grant of Abhimanyu, which probably belongs to the seventh century, and contains the oldest mention of the family. The branch to which Abhimanyu belonged, resided in Mānapura, which probably took its name from Abhimanyu's great-grandfather Mānāṅka, "the ornament of the Rāshṭrakūṭas." Dr. Fleet has identified Mānapura with Mānpur in Rēwa, but this identification is not quite certain Mr. Bhandarkar publishes a copper-plate inscription of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Karkarāja, dated Śaka 701, in the reign of Gōvinda II. The inscription is of importance as it has been doubted whether Gōvinda II. actually ascended the throne. The same scholar also republishes two inscriptions of Indrarāja III., dated Śaka 836.

Some Pallava inscriptions have also been published in these parts. Professor Hultzsch's paper on the Pīkira plate of Siṁhavarman has already been noticed in my report for 1904-05. Another Pallava grant published by him, which is now in the British Museum, furnishes the names of the queen of the *Yuvamahārāja* Vijaya-Buddhavarman, Chārudēvī, and of her son Buddhyaṅkura. The same scholar also publishes a set of copper plates of the second year of Kumāravishṇu II., the son of Buddha-

varman, the grandson of Kumāravishṇu I. and the great-grandson of Skandavarman. The inscription seems to be a little later than the Pīkira grant referred to above and the kings mentioned in it may therefore be assumed to have reigned in the interval between Siṁhavarman and Siṁhavishṇu. Mr. Venkayya contributes a paper on an inscription of the Pallava Dantivarman, whom he assigns to the original Pallava family of Conjeeveram, which may have continued to reign in a part of the old Pallava kingdom after the Gaṅga-Pallavas had taken possession of the greater portion of the country. The inscription seems to belong to the third quarter of the eighth century.

Professor Kielhorn continues his calculation of Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya dates. Of the inscriptions dealt with by him 36 belong to the Chōḷas and 19 to the Pāṇḍyas.

Finally, I shall mention Professor Lüders' new edition of the Taxila vase inscription with an excellent mechanical reproduction, and Mr. G. Venkoba Rao's edition of two epigraphs, one in Grantha characters and the other in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet. These two papers are of especial importance on account of the characters used in these inscriptions, *viz.*, Kharōshṭhī and Vaṭṭeḻuttu.

Of the new inscriptions copied during the year, very few belong to the Maurya and Kushaṇa periods. The most important ones have already been dealt with above in connection with the Sārnāth excavations (see pp. 95 and ff.). Some additional old Brāhmī inscriptions have been discovered in caves in the Madras Presidency. Such caves have been found at Marugāltalai, ten miles from Palamcottah in the Tinnevelly District, at Āṇaimalai near Madura, and at Ariṭṭāpaṭṭi near Mēlūr in the Madura District. The inscriptions appear to belong to the third or second century B.C., but it has not as yet proved possible to make anything out of them. The language does not seem to be Aryan. The opening word of the Āṇaimalai inscription is apparently *iva*, which might perhaps be connected with Tamil *ivai*, *ivaṉ*, *idu*. Impressions of these inscriptions have been sent to Professor Lüders for publication in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

About 15,000 coins of Nahapāna were found during the year at Nāsik. They have been dealt with in a paper by the Reverend H. R. Scott[1], who shows that more than 9,000 have been countersigned by Gōtamiputra Sātakarṇi.

The Gupta period is represented by some short inscriptions from Sārnāth (see above pp. 97 ff.) and by a fragmentary image inscription from Kasiā. This latter, and a seal-die with the legend *śrī-Vishṇudvīpavihāribhikshusaṅghasya* have been dealt with by Dr. Vogel, above p. 60. A name in early Gupta characters has also been found engraved in a cave near Maṇḍōr in Rājputānā. An inscription now deposited in the Historic Office at Jōdhpur in the Mārwār State, but which originally came from an old temple of Dadhīmatī between the villages Gōth and Māṅglōd in the Nagaur District, is perhaps dated in the Gupta era (saṁvatsara 589). It contains the name of an unknown king Druhlāṇa.

Kirāḍū is a ruined town near Hātmā, about 16 miles north-west of Bādmēr in the Mallāṇī District. An inscription of the reign of the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva and dated Saṁvat 1235, Kārttika śudi 13, was copied in a raised temple there. It relates how the wife of Tējapāla, an officer of the Chōhan Madanabrahma, who again was a feudatory of Bhīmadēva, installed a new image in the temple, after the original one had been broken by the Turushkas, *i.e.* by the Muhammadans. It

[1] *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the R. A. Socy.*, LXII, p. 221 and ff.

seems tempting to identify Tējapāla with Tējaḥpala or Tējapāla, the minister of the Vāghēlā Chaulukya king Vīradhavala, who built the Nēminātha temple on Mount Ābū.[1] The family of the latter is stated to have come from Aṇahilapura, *i.e.* Aṇahilapāṭaka, the residance of Bhīmadēva. It professed the Jaina faith and was of the lineage of the Prāgvāṭas. Tējapāla's wife was Anupamadēvī. The consecration of the Nēminātha temple took place in Saṁvat 1287, and, accordingly, 42 years after the date of our inscription. This fact perhaps speaks against the identification. Moreover it might be urged that the wife of a Jaina would not be likely to dedicate an image in a Śiva temple. The question of identification must, therefore, be left open.

Some new inscriptions belonging to the family of the Pratihāras have been discovered during the year. In the outer porch of a Jaina temple at Osiā is an inscription of the Vikrama year 1013, which mentions that the temple was originally built by the Pratihāra Vatsarāja of Kanauj, for whom Jinasēna's *Jainaharivaṁśa* furnishes the date A.D. 783-84. An inscription of Vatsarāja's son Nāgabhaṭṭa dated Vikrama Saṁvat 872, was found on the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* of a temple in Buchkalā.[2] We have seen above that Nāgabhaṭa conquered Chakrāyudha of Kanauj, and the succession must have been uncertain in the preceding years.

Two inscriptions of a feudatory Pratihāra family have already been published several years ago by Professor Kielhorn. One of them refers to a chieftain Bāuka,[3] and the other to his brother Kakkuka.[4] The former is now found in the fort wall of Jōdhpur, but has almost certainly been brought from Maṇḍōr. Professor Kielhorn reads the date as Saṁvat 4, but Mr. Bhandarkar has shown good reasons for reading 894. The other is dated Saṁvat 918, and hails from the *Mātā-kī sāl* temple in Ghaṭiyālā. In the *Khākhu dēvlā* temple in the same place Mr. Bhandarkar has now found three new inscriptions of Kakkuka, on a red sandstone pillar, dated Saṁvat 918.[5] We learn that Kakkuka put up two pillars, one at Maḍḍōdara (Maṇḍōr) and another at Rōhiṁsaka (Ghaṭiyālā). The former has not been recovered, but in a cave near Maṇḍōr is a fragment of an inscription belonging to the tenth century, which mentions a son of Kakka. Now, Kakka was Kakkuka's father, and the son intended is perhaps Kakkuka.

Some new inscriptions refer to the family of the Paramāras of Chandrāvatī. A short genealogy is given in an inscription found in the Paṭṭanārāyaṇa temple at Girvaḍ (Mount Ābū). It only goes back to Dhārāvarsha, whose son, Sōmasiṁha, was the father of Kṛishṇadēva, whose son Jaitrakarṇa, is said to have recovered his kingdom from his enemies. The oldest date as yet forthcoming for Dhārāvarsha Saṁvat 1220, is furnished by an inscription discovered on a stone now deposited in a shed near the Kāśī Viśvēśvara temple at Kāyadrā, Sirohi State. Another inscription from the Madhusūdana temple near Mingthāḷā (Mount Ābū) couples his name with the date Saṁvat 1245. The last known date for this king is

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[1] Compare Lüders, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 200 and ff.
[2] Edited by Bhandarkar, *Ep. Ind.*, IX, 198 ff.
[3] J. R. A. S. 1894, p. 4 ff.
[4] J. R. A. S. 1895, p. 516 ff.
[5] See *Ep. Ind.*, IX, 278 ff

Saṁvat 1274. A quite new family of Paramāras has been brought to light by an inscription from Kirāḍū, dated Saṁvat 1218.

A new branch of the Chāhamāna dynasty is described in an inscription found on the front wall of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* of the temple of Kiṇsariā in the Parbatsar District.

Before leaving the inscriptions of Northern India, mention should be made of 11 inscribed stones which were transferred from Dr. Stein's office to the Archæological Superintendent of the Frontier Circle. One of them, which records the construction of a tank near Navagrāma (perhaps in the Hazārā District) by Vāṇhadaka, in the name of his father Īśvara, the son of Śūraḍi, is of interest on account of its date. The tank is said to have been constructed *laukya-saṁvach-chhara-śatē gaja-triṁśādhikē saṁvat 38 kārttika-śuti 13 śanau, i.e.* in the Laukya-year 538, on the 13th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārttika, on a Saturday. This date, which must refer to the Laukika era usual in Kashmir, is of considerable interest. In the first place, the promiscuous use of numerals and numeral words such as *śara* (arrow) for five and *gaja* (elephant) for eight, is not common. Then, as is well known, the hundreds are usually omitted in dates referring to this era. This is so universally the case that it has recently been asserted that " if in a date the hundreds are mentioned, it is absolutely certain that it cannot be referred to the Laukika era."[1] Our inscription, which is expressly referred to the Laukya, *i.e.*, Laukika era, proves that this statement cannot be upheld, and Kāśmīrī Paṇḍits such as Mukund Rām inform me that the hundreds are sometimes actually expressed *lōkē*, in common life. It is here of interest that the hundreds are omitted in the repetition of the date by means of figures. The date corresponds to Saturday, the 17th October 1461. The inscription, which is written in Śāradā letters, is also of interest on account of the use of raised letters. Another Śāradā inscription of the same collection seems to have been a memorial stone. It does not contain any names or any date, but is apparently a little later than the one just described. It is written in Prākrit and impresses upon us the instability of everything ; only fame can make one immortal. The remaining inscriptions of this collection are too fragmentary to yield any result.

As usual, the bulk of the new inscriptions comes from South India. An excellent analysis has been printed in Mr. Venkayya's Annual Report, and I shall here only mention some of the most important facts brought to light, referring to the history of the Vijayanagara kings, the Pāṇḍyas and the Chōlas.

It was known before that Kampa I., the son of Saṁgama I. of the first Vijayanagara dynasty, was the founder of a branch in Nellore, and that his son Saṁgama II. was reigning in Śaka 1278. The new inscriptions copied during the year under review introduce us to another son of Kampa, called Vīraśrī-Sāvaṇṇa-Oḍeya, whose capital was at Udayagiri. His inscriptions are dated Śaka 1273, 1275 and 1283, and his accession took place Śaka 1270-71. It therefore seems as if the two brothers were reigning simultaneously.

Kampa's brother Bukka I. is in an inscription brought back to Śaka 1274-A.D. 1352-53, and he is stated to have ruled at Dōrasamudra and Penugoṇḍa. Mr. Rice has published a still earlier inscription of this king[2] dated Śaka 1266=A.D. 1344-45,

[1] See R. D. Banerji, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, 1908, p. 28.
[2] *Epigraphia Carnatica* X, Mg. 158.

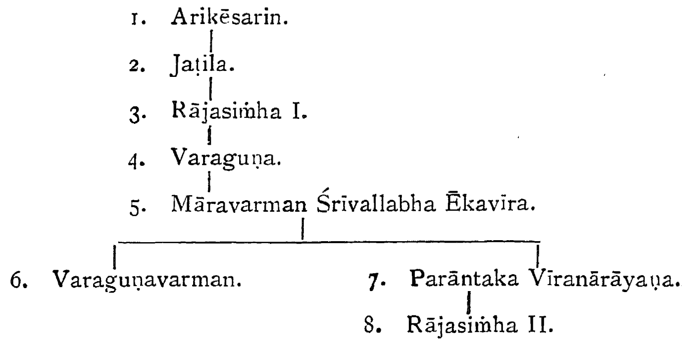
where the donee was the Telugu poet Nāchana Sōma. This latter inscription also mentions the foundation of Vijayanagara by Vidyāraṇya.

For Dēvarāya I., whose coronation took place in A.D. 1406, we had formerly dates down to 1410. A new inscription couples his name with Śaka 1340=A.D. 1417-18.

About his son Vīra-Vijaya, we learn that he was also called Vijaya-Bukka. He was made viceroy by his father at Muḷbāgal in Mysore sometime before A.D. 1408. According to Nuniz, he reigned six years in Vijayanagara, where we find him as king in Śaka 1344=A.D.1422-23. He is probably identical with the Vīra Bukka mentioned in an inscription dated in A.D.1423-24. His son Dēvarāya II. is stated to have begun his reign in Śaka 1343=A.D.1420-21. If Nuniz' statement is correct, he must have been anointed during his father's reign.

The last inscription of Dēvarāya is dated in A.D. 1446. In the reign of his brother's son Mallikārjuna, there must have been an invasion by the Gajapati king of Orissa. It is alluded to in the drama *Gaṅgādāsapratāpavilāsa*, and the disturbances caused by the raid are referred to in two inscriptions. The Gajapati king in question must be Kapilēśvara of Orissa (1434-70).

In my last report, I mentioned that the date of the Pāṇḍya Varaguṇa had been fixed at A.D. 862-63. Some additional information about the old Pāṇḍyas can be gathered from two sets of copper plates from Śiṇṇamaṇūr in the Madura District. One of them refers to a son of Arikēsarin Asamasamaṇ Alaṅghyavikramaṇ Akāla-kālaṇ Māṟavarman, the son of Jayantavarman. The prince intended was probably Jaṭilavarman as in the Madras Museum plates. The Sanskrit portion of the second set, which perhaps belongs to the first quarter of the tenth century, gives the following genealogy :—



The Tamil portion substitutes Parāṅkuśaṇ for Arikēsarin (No. 1) and passes from him to his grandson Rājasiṁha. Māravarman (No. 5) is called Parachakrakōlāhala, and No. 7 figures as Śrī-Parāntakaṇ Śaḍaiyaṇ, while Rājasiṁha II. (No. 8) has the epithets Rājaśikhāmaṇi Mandaragaurava Abhimānamēru.

Arikēsarin, who is called Māravarman in the Madras Museum plates, claims to have defeated the Pallavas at Śaṁkaramaṅgai. Now the Pallava king Nandivarman in the Udayēndiram grant claims a victory at Śaṁkaragrāma, which is probably simply a Sanskrit translation of Śaṁkaramaṅgai. If these two statements refer to the same event, as they probably do, Arikēsarin must belong to the middle of the eighth century.

The genealogy given above shows that there were two kings of the name Varaguṇa. The later of the two, Varaguṇavarman (No. 6) is then probably the king whose accession took place in A.D. 862-3.

Māravarman (No. 5) is stated to have conquered, among others, Māyā Pāṇḍya. This statement points to the conclusion that more than one branch of the family was ruling at the same time. This inference is also strengthened by other considerations, and, on the whole, several points in the history of the Pāṇḍyas still remain to be elucidated by future finds.

Towards the end of the ninth century, the Chōḷas became the paramount power in South India. Before that time there was no Chōḷa kingdom of importance, and an inscription from Elvānāśūr in South Arcot, which was copied in 1906 and which apparently belongs to the ninth century, seems to show that the Pāṇḍyas made their influence felt even in the Pallava country.

The list of Chōḷa kings represented in this year's collection opens with Parāntaka I., who figures in more than forty records, ranging from his 3rd to his 41st year. His accession took place between the 15th January and the 25th July 907. An inscription copied in 1906 in the Maṇikaṇṭhēśvara temple at Tirumālpuram in the North Arcot District, informs us that his father, probably Āditya I., reigned 22 years and died at Toṇḍaimāṉāṟṟūr, and that he himself was known as Parakēsarivarman "who took Madirai and Īḻam (Ceylon)." Parāntaka seems to have been at war with the Pāṇḍyas at least three times. His first expedition must have taken place early in his reign, for the titles *Madiraikoṇḍa* and *Madhurāntaka* occur in inscriptions of the third year of his reign. A second war is referred to in records of his 12th year. After this engagement, in which the Pāṇḍyas were assisted by the king of Ceylon, Parāntaka assumed the title of *Saṁgrāma-Rāghava*, a Rāma in warfare. After a third war, towards the end of his reign, he assumed the title *Maduraiyum Iḻamum koṇda*, 'he, who took Madura and Ceylon,' which occurs in inscriptions ranging from his 39th to 41st year.

The interval between Parāntaka I., the last of whose inscriptions is dated in his 41st year (A.D. 947-8), and Rājarāja I. Rājakēsarivarman, who ascended the throne between the 25th June and the 25th July 985, is still very unsatisfactorily known. Parāntaka's son Rājāditya, who was killed about A.D. 949-50 in the battle at Takkōlam against the Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇarāja III., probably did not reign after his father. An inscription of the 31st year of Parāntaka on the west wall of the Śivalōkanātha temple a Grāmam shows that Rājāditya then had an army of his own. He had at least two brothers, Gaṇḍarāditya and Ariṁjaya, of both of whom we apparently possess inscriptions. Ariṁjaya's son Parāntaka II. was called Sundara Chōḷa, and an inscription of his 5th year is found in the Śivayōganāthasvāmin temple at Tiruviśalūr in the Tanjore District. It is, however, built into the temple and could not be copied in full. His son Aditya II. Karikāla has been identified by Professor Hultzsch,[1] with the Parakēsarivarman "who took the head of Vīra Pāṇḍya" of the Ukkal inscription, though this king would be expected to have the name Rājakēsarivarman. Two new inscriptions copied during the year belong to the reign of the same Parakēsarivarman.

[1] *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, No. 14, p. 21.

A feudatory of Āditya II. was perhaps the Pārthivēndrādivarman "who took the head of Vīra Pāṇḍya," whose name occurs in seven inscriptions copied during the year. Another prince, Aṇaiyamaṇ or Paramaṇḍalādittaṇ, must have been a feudatory of his again. He is stated to have belonged to the Sagara-Virāṭa dynasty, and a short genealogy of his family is given. Virāṭa, instead of which we also find Ilāḍa, must be the name of a country, probably in middle India. It cannot have anything to do with Lāṭa.

Rājarāja I. began to reign between the 25th June and the 25th July 985. An inscription of his fourth year gives him the name Mummaḍi Chōḷadēva. Another, of his 11th year, records the gift of a lamp to the shrine of Hanumat at Tirumālpuram, and thus shows that the worship of Hanumat had been established in the Tamiḷ country in the tenth century at least. The last known inscription of this king is dated in his 29th year.

From the time of Rājēndra Chōḷa I., who began to reign between the 27th March and 7th July 1012, and onwards, Chōḷa inscriptions in Tamil have been found in Puṅganūr in North Arcot and adjoining districts. We learn from these and other records that Jayaṅgoṇḍa Chōḷa-maṇḍalam or Toṇḍai-nāḍu extended in the north from Puṅganūr up to the borders of the Nellore District.

The inscriptions discovered in Burma during the year under review are of little historical interest. Mr. Taw Sein Ko, in his Report, uses some of them in support of his theory that Burmese Buddhism was originally introduced from India in the Mahāyānist form. I regret to be unable to see that any proofs have been adduced which make this hypothesis plausible. There can be no doubt that Burmese pilgrims from the earliest times visited the sacred places in India, and such Indian influence as can be pointed out can be sufficiently explained by the intercourse which must naturally result from the fact that Northern India was the birthplace of Buddhism. I am however, here only dealing with the history of Burmese Buddhism, so far as epigraphy is concerned, and I feel bound to say that the fresh proof which Mr. Taw Sein Ko has found in the legend on a votive tablet from Kyinlo, about eight miles to the south-east of Nyaung-u, in my opinion does not weigh much. The inscription runs *sabbaññutañānassa pachchayo.* Taw Sein Ko translates "the (attainment of the) basis of supreme knowledge", and adds that this expresses the pious aspirations of a Mahāyānist. It is, however, sufficient to refer to Childer's Dictionary in order to show that *sabbaññutañāna* is quite common in Buddhist Pāli texts, and it seems impossible to use the inscription as proof of anything but the fact that Pāli, the sacred language of Southern Buddhism, was in common use in Burma, a fact which does not need to be proved.

Before leaving the subject of Burmese epigraphy it will be necessary to add some remarks on a new theory about the development of the Burmese alphabet set forth in the Superintendent's Report for 1906-07, where we read,—

"Prior to the eleventh century A. D., the lapidary art appears to have been unknown at Pagan, for no stone inscriptions antedating the rise of Anawrata have been found. This has created a belief among writers on Burma that, before the conquest of Thaton by Anawrata, the Burmese did not possess an alphabet, and much less a literature. Such a belief has, however, been refuted by the researches recently made

into the origin and development of the Burmese alphabet, and the broad facts elicited may be summarised as follows :—

"*Third century A.D.*—Burma was conquered by the Kingdom of Shu, one of the Three Kingdoms into which China was then divided; and she became tributary to China."

"*Fourth century A. D.*—The Mahāyānist form of Buddhism was introduced into Burma by Chinese missionaries, who taught it in Chinese. No Chinese epigraphic remains have, so far, been discovered, with the single exception of the Chinese inscription set up by the Mongols at Pagan in the thirteenth century A. D.

"*Fifth-Sixth centuries A. D.*—The Chinese of the South were engaged in an incessant struggle with the Tartars of the North, and Chinese control and influence became considerably weakened, and Burma escaped from the thraldom of Chinese hieroglyphs and ideographs.[1] The Indian form of Mahāyānism was introduced by Indian missionaries from Northern and Eastern India, who taught it in Sanskrit, using the alphabet of the Gupta period.[2]

"*Seventh-Eighth centuries. A.D.*—In 622 A. D., under the auspices of King Srongtsan Gampo, the Tibetan alphabet was invented on the basis of the Lañca letters, a variety of the Gupta character, and an active religious propaganda was pursued. In the eighth century, Nanchao, the Shan kingdom of Talifu, annexed Burma, and became a medium of communication between Tibet and Burma, and Tibetan religious influences penetrated into Pagan.

"The Bön religion or Shamanism, and, later on, Lamaism or Mahāyānism with a peculiar hierarchy superadded, were introduced into Burma from Tibet. The Tibetan Bön priests or "Bön-gyepa" were the precursors of the Burmese *pōngyi* of the present day. The new systems of faith were engrafted on the prevailing Indian form of Mahāyānism. The Tibetan priests left no appreciable impression on the language and literature of Burma ; but the Burmese alphabet, judging from the arrangement of the letters, and the sounds accorded to them, appears to be a blending of the Tibetan and Sanskrit systems.[3]

"*Ninth-Tenth centuries A. D.*—Tantrism was introduced from Bengal through Assam and Manipur, and, possibly also, through Arakan. Its priests, called "Aris" favoured Naga-worship, and the *Jus primae noctis* prevailed amongst them. They continued to use the Gupta alphabet, as well as the characters of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal (800 to 1050 A. D.) Two gold plates have been found at Prome, which are inscribed in the Eastern Chalukyan character, a Dravidian script of this period.[4]

"*Eleventh century A. D.*—Hīnayānism or Buddhism of the Southern School, whose vehicle is Pāli, was introduced into Pagan after Anawrata's conquest of Thaton in 1057 A. D. Copies of the Tripiṭaka in that language, were obtained from Thaton and Ceylon.

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[1] As remarked by the author above, there are no proofs that they were ever used in Burma. Nor is there any evidence to show that the Mahāyānist form of Buddhism was introduced from China in the fourth century. This is simply a conclusion drawn by the author from the Chinese conquest, about the duration of which we know nothing.—S. K.

[2] This is a mere guess and not supported on good arguments.—S. K.

[3] None of these statements about Tibetan influence have been proved or even made probable.—S. K.

[4] The identification of the Aris with Tantric priests is a mere guess.—S. K.

"*Twelfth century A.D.*—Jain, Saiva, and Vaishṇava influences completely disappeared at Pagan, as evidenced by the Kyaukku Temple, which was built in 1188 A.D. An outburst of architectural energy took place, which lasted from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries A. D. Pure Hīnayānism as well as Burmese epigraphy became firmly established.

"*Thirteenth century A.D.*—The Mongols under Kublai Khan overran Burma in 1284 A.D. The Burmese empire broke up, and the Shans and Talaings asserted their independence. These political upheavals produced no modification in the Burmese alphabet, which had been fully developed, and had assumed a permament form.

" The conclusion is inevitable that the Burmese alphabet was primarily based on the Gupta script of the fifth century A.D., which was imported overland through Assam and Manipur, and, possibly, also through Arakan, and that it was modified, to some extent, by the Eastern Chalukyan character of the tenth century A. D., which reached Pagan by sea through the Talaings. Pagan latterly received her letters and religion from Aryan or Northern India, while Pegu received hers from the Dravidians of the South. It was in the eleventh century A.D. after the conquest of Thaton by Anawrata, that the Aryan and Dravidian systems were harmoniously blended at Pagan and that thenceforward Burmese civilization assumed a definite aspect."

It will be seen[1] that the arguments adduced are mainly based on the supposed history of Buddhism in Burma, and it may perhaps be objected that so long as this history itself is not known, it is not safe to base any conclusions on it. It seems as if the author is inclined to assume that several foreign alphabets have influenced the development of the Burmese character.

The Chinese conquest would have left its marks on the general tendencies towards Mahāyānism which might have paved the way for a North Indian form of Buddhism transmitted in Sanskrit and written in a North-Indian alphabet. In the *Indian Antiquary* (XXXV, p. 211ff), Mr. Taw Sein Ko has put together some few Buddhist terms which, he maintains, have been borrowed from China and which might be considered as traces of Chinese influence on Burmese Buddhism. Considering the fact, however, that Burmese and Chinese are closely connected languages, and the extreme uncertainty of some of the equations, the list at the utmost proves that there has been intercourse between Burmese and Chinese Buddhism at some period. And at all events, Chinese influence cannot have played any rôle in the development of the Burmese alphabet, and the author does not seem to think so either.

The assumption that the alphabet of the Gupta period was introduced by the Indian missionaries, who, we are told, taught Mahāyānism in Burma in the 5th and 6th centuries, is based on Phayre, who says that Pāli inscriptions in Dēvanāgarī characters of the time of the Guptas have been found among the ruins of Tagoung. I have not seen any inscription answering this description, and Mr. Taw Sein Ko, in an unpublished paper, declares that he has never found any. The discovery of votive tablets written in Indian characters would not, of course, prove anything. They might have been brought back from India by pilgrims. I am, therefore, unable to attach

[1] During my tour in Burma, in 1907, I communicated the remarks which follow to Mr. Taw Sein Ko, and advised him to postpone the publishing of his notes on the Burmese alphabet till he would be able to adduce better proofs.—S. K.

any importance to the argument. If Mr. Phayre's statement is correct, it only shows that a form of Gupta characters was used in writing Pāli, but it, by no means, shows that the character was the precursor of the Burmese alphabet. Still less can be inferred from the find of an inscription in an unknown language (Old Siamese ?) at Halingyi near Shwebo.

I now come to the alleged influence of the Tibetan alphabet, and I must confess that I am unable to see any traces of it. The fact that the Burmese character has retained even such Indian letters which are useless for writing Burmese and which are not found in Tibetan, proves sufficiently that the Burmese alphabet is derived from an Indian one, and there is absolutely nothing to point to any influence exercised by the Tibetan character. Those points in which the Burmese and Tibetan characters agree are such as are common to all Indian scripts. The fact that the Burmese alphabet possesses all the sounds necessary for writing Pāli, while some signs which are necessary in Sanskrit are missing, seems to make it almost certain that it has been borrowed from the script used in Burma for noting down the sacred language of Southern Buddhism, a supposition which agrees with the views commonly held in Europe. It is in thorough agreement with the fact that the legend on the gold plates from Prome mentioned by the author under the ninth and tenth centuries is in Pāli. The remaining remarks made in connection with these plates have no bearing on the history of the Burmese alphabet, as there is no evidence to show that the Gupta alphabet and the characters of the Pāla kings were used in Burma during this period.[1]

The whole deduction about the history of the Burmese alphabet before Anawrata must, therefore, be dismissed till the author furnishes better proofs.

In Anawrata's times the Burmese alphabet was very little different from the alphabet then used for Pāli. The earliest inscription found at Pagan, on a square stone pillar near the Myazedi Pagoda, which was erected 1084 A. D., shows side by side the same text in Pāli and Burmese language, and the difference in character is so insignificant that there can be no doubt that both must be classed together as one single form of script. The remarks made above about the adaptation in the Burmese alphabet of signs which are necessary for writing Pāli but not for writing Burmese, in my opinion shows that this script was originally devised for the purpose of writing Pāli. And there cannot, moreover, be any doubt that this Pāli alphabet must be derived from a South Indian character.

STEN KONOW.

[1] See my remarks in my Report for 1905-06.

THE PALLAVAS.

THE word *Pallava* is apparently the Sanskrit form of the tribal name *Pahlava* or *Pahṇava* of the Purāṇas. The Pahlavas are described as a northern or north-western tribe [1] whose territory lay somewhere between the river Indus and Persia. They were conquered by Sagara but spared on the intercession of his family priest Vasiṣṭha. In chapter 64 of the Śāntiparvan of the *Mahābhārata*, king Māndhātṛ questions the god Indra about the duties to be practised by the Pahlavas[2] among other tribes, [3] the several castes that originated from the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas, the Vaiśyas and Śūdras that lived in the dominions of Aryan kings. In the *Harivaṁśa* [4] the Pahnavas [5] are said to have been Kṣatriyas originally, but become degraded in later times. They are mentioned here along with the Śakas, Yavanas and Kāmbōjas and their chief characteristic was the beard [6] which Sagara permitted them to wear. In the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, the Yavanas, Pahlavas and Kāmbōjas are said to have been originally Kṣatriya tribes who became degraded by their separation from Brāhmaṇas and their institutions. [7] In Manu, the Pahlavas are mentioned along with the Puṇḍrakas, Draviḍas, Kāmbōjas, Yavanas, Śakas and other allied tribes. These were all Kṣatriyas originally, but gradually became degraded by their omission of the sacred rites and transgressing the authority of the Brāhmaṇas. [8]

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[1] In chapter 9 of the Bhīṣmaparvan of the *Mahābhārata*, the Pahlavas are mentioned among the barbarians (*mlēccha-jātayaḥ*).

[2] The form adopted in the edition of the epic which is being published by Messrs. T. R. Kṛṣṇācārya and T. R. Vyāsācārya is *Pallava*. The editors say that their text is based mainly on South-Indian manuscripts.

[3] These are the Yavanas, Kirātas, Gāndhāras, Cīnas, Śabaras, Barbaras, Śakas, Tuṣāras, Kaṅkas, Āndhras, Madrakas, Pauṇḍras (*Uṣṭras* in South-Indian texts), Pulindas, Ramaṭhas and Kāmbōjas; आरट्टाः काचा म्लेच्छाश्च सर्वशः is the reading of South-Indian texts.

[4] XIV, verses 15 to 19.

[5] In the *Rāmāyaṇa* (I, 55, verse 18) the Pahlavas are said to have emanated from the bellowing of the miraculous cow Nandinī, which belonged to the sage Vasiṣṭha.

[6] The beards of the Westerns (*i.e.* the Yavanas), are also mentioned by Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, 63.

[7] Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. II, p. 259, and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 166.

[8] शनकैस्तु क्रियालोपादिमाः क्षत्रियजातयः ।
वृषलत्वं गता लोके ब्राह्मणातिक्रमेण च ॥

पुण्ड्रकाश्चौड्रद्रविडाः काम्बोजा यवनाः शकाः ।
पारदाः पह्लवाश्चीनाः किराता दरदास्तथा ॥ X. 43-44

The foregoing references[1] may be taken to show that the Pahlavas must have been a ruling tribe already in Purāṇic times. The admission that they did not conform to Brāhmaṇical practices shows that they were either foreigners actually or were connected with them. In case they were foreigners, their immigration must have taken place in very early times.

The word *pallava* means in Sanskrit 'a sprout,' and the dynasty which bore the name claims to have been so called, because king Pallava, the progenitor of the race, was "suddenly born to him (*i.e.* Aśvatthāman) on a litter of sprouts (*pallava*)" in the words of the Kāśākuḍi plates.[2] The form *pallava* occurs in two of the earliest inscriptions of the dynasty[3] and *Palava* in the third.[4] These three records are in Prākṛit. The word *pahlava*, from which the name *pallava* appears to be derived, is believed to be a corruption of Pārthava,[5] Pārthiva[6] or Pārthia, and Dr. Bhandarkar calls the Indo-Parthians Pahlavas.[7] The territories of the Indo-Parthians lay in Kandahar and Seistan,[8] but extended during the reign of Gondophares (about A.D. 20 to 60) into the Western Punjab and the valley of the lower Indus.[9] The Āndhra king Gotamiputra, whose dominions lay in the Dakhan,[10] claims to have defeated about A. D. 130 the Palhavas along with the Śakas and Yavanas.[11] In the Junāgaḍh inscription of the Kṣatrapa king Rudradāman belonging to about A.D. 150, mention is made of a Pahlava minister of his named Suviśākha.[12] The Pallavas of the East Coast (who finally settled in Kāñcīpuram) were the political successors of the Āndhras in the Telugu country.[13]

Consequently, the Pallavas must have existed during the period of Āndhra supremacy, either as their allies or as their foes. The Kṣatrapa king Rudradāman, whose minister was the Pahlava Suviśākha, waged war against his own son-in-law, the Āndhra king Puḷumāyi II., who is credited with the removal of the capital to Paiṭhaṇ on the

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[1] In the description of the *digvijaya* of king Raghu, Kālidāsa seems to locate the Yavanas somewhere in the West (of India). Raghu is said to have advanced from Trikûṭa by an inland route to conquer the Pārasīkas. The conquest of the Yavanas followed that of the Pārasīkas; *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV. 59 to 65.

[2] *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. II, p. 355, verse 17.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 5, text line 2, and Vol. VIII, p. 145, text line 2.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 86, text line 2.

[5] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 317 *f.*, and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 224. The Parthians appear to have established themselves in the Kabul valley about B.C. 161 (*ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 126).

[6] Pārthiva was the name of a branch of the Kauśikas descended through the sage Viśvâmitra from Kuśika who was brought up among the Pahlavas. In the Pahlādpur pillar inscription, a king named Śiśupāla bears the title "protector of the army of the Pārthivas;" Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 250.

[7] See his article entitled "A peep into the early history of India" published in the *J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, pp. 356 to 408.

[8] Prof. E. J. Rapson's *Indian Coins*, p. 15.

[9] Mr. V. A. Smith's *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, p. 36. From the *Periplus* composed about A.D. 80, we learn that the Indus valley was under the power of the Pārthians, who were continually at war among themselves (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 338).

[10] The Āndhras extended their authority along the course of the Gōdāvarī from its mouth on the shores of the Bay of Bengal to its source in the Western Ghats. In the south, their dominion was carried into the northern parts of Mysore and in the north as far as the river Narbadā.

[11] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 61. Perhaps the Āndhra king's victory over these tribes was not individual but collective. The Śakas headed by Nahapāna might have been the predominant partners of the coalition.

[12] *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 49. Suviśâkha was not merely a minister but the governor of two provinces under the Kṣatrapa king.

[13] Śivaskandavarman, who is perhaps the earliest Pallava king hitherto known, had a governor under him at Dhañakaḍa (*i.e.* Amarāvatī in the Guntur District), the capital of the Āndhras; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 85; also see p. 221, below, note 3.

Gōdāvarī.[1] The Kṣatrapa king was victorious but did not pursue his advantage to the uttermost. Perhaps it was this war that brought about (in some manner at present unknown) the removal or migration [2] of the Pahlavas (or Palhavas), who had been in the service of the Kṣatrapa king, to the eastern portion of the Āndhra dominions.[3] They must have remained here a pretty long time before acquiring sovereignty. In fact, the Pahlavas (or Palhavas) must have moved into the Gōdāvarī and Kistna deltas about the middle of the second century. The Āndhras ceased to be the ruling power in the third century A.D.[4] and their place on the East Coast was apparently taken by the Palhavas, who seem to have transformed themselves into Pallavas. If this surmise be proved by future researches, the Pallavas of Kāñcīpuram must have come originally from Persia, though the interval of time which must have elapsed since they left Persia must be several centuries.[5] As the Persians are generally known to

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[1] Mr. V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*, second edition, p. 200.

[2] It is true no tradition has been preserved of this migration. But it must be borne in mind that already in Purāṇic times, they had been settled in India and were looked upon practically as indigenous Kṣatriyas.

[3] A somewhat similar case is the movement of the Calukyas into the Gōdāvarī delta during the reign of Pulikēśin II. from Bādāmi in the Bombay Presidency. Here, the circumstances which brought about the move are known. A branch of the Calukyas established themselves in the Gōdāvarī and the Kistna deltas, while the main line continued at Bādāmi. In all probability, the whole Pahlava tribe did not move to the East Coast, but only a detachment of them. From the way in which the Indian astronomer Varāhamihira mentions the Pahlavas, it may be concluded that the major portion of the tribe remained in their original territory.

[4] Mr. V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*, second edition, p. 203. Mr. Smith remarks that the "third century A.D. is one of the dark spaces in the spectrum of Indian history, and almost every event of that time is concealed from view by an impenetrable veil of oblivion." Accordingly, we cannot expect to find any record of the migration of the Pallavas into the Telugu country or of their rise to power.

[5] In the second edition of his *Early History of India*, Mr. Vincent Smith discredits the theory accepted in the first edition that the Pallavas of Southern India were from Persia. On p. 404 he states that the origin and affinities of the Pallavas remain obscure but remarks later on (p. 423) that recent research does not support the theory of the foreign origin of the Pallavas. He thinks it more likely that the Pallavas were a tribe, clan or caste which was formed in the northern part of the Madras Presidency, possibly in the Vēṅgī country, between the Kṛṣṇā and Gōdāvarī rivers (p. 423). This part of the Telugu country was included in the dominions of the Āndhras. If the clan was actually formed there, the process must have commenced long before the Āndhras ceased to be the ruling power. In fact, the clan must have acquired a distinct political status even while the Āndhras were in power. Thus we would have two tribes bearing almost the same name, the Palhavas in Western India, whom the Āndhra king Gotamiputra defeated along with the Śakas and Yavanas, and the Pallavas in the delta of the Gōdāvarī, whose political relationship to the Āndhras would remain to be disclosed by future researches. Why the indigenous tribe which was formed in the Gōdāvarī delta called itself Pallava, a name which would lead to their being mistaken for the Palhavas of Western India is a question which, to my mind, must be satisfactorily answered before the theory of indigenous origin can be accepted. One point which might be taken as a proof of the foreign origin of the Pallavas has to be noted here. The indigenous Kṣatriya tribes (or at least those which were looked upon as such) belonged either to the solar or to the lunar race. For instance, the Cōḷas belonged to the solar race and the Pāṇḍyas to the lunar. The Cēras seem to have belonged to the solar race. The Calukyas—both the Eastern and Western—were of the lunar race. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas were also of the same race. On the other hand, the Pallavas trace their descent from the god Brahmā but not from the Sun or the Moon, though they are admitted to have been Kṣatriyas. Besides, none of the ancient kings mentioned in the Purāṇas figures in the ancestry of the Pallavas. The indigenous tribes, however, always traced their ancestry from some of the famous kings known from the Purāṇas. The Cōḷas, for instance claimed Manu, Ikṣvāku, Māndhātṛ, Mucukunda and Śibi; the Pāṇḍyas were descended from the emperor Purūravas; the Cēras had Sagara, Bhagīratha, Raghu, Daśaratha and Rāma for their ancestors. The Calukyas had a long list of Purāṇic sovereigns in their ancestry. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas were descendants of Yadu and belonged to the Sātyaki branch or clan. The Gaṅga kings of Kaliṅganagara were descended from the Moon and claimed Purūravas, Āyus, Nahuṣa, Yayāti and Turvasu for their ancestors (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 170). The Western Gaṅgas of Taḷakāḍ were apparently of the solar race and had Ikṣvāku for their ancestor (Mr. Rice's *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 308). The only king mentioned in the mythical genealogy of the Pallavas is Aśōkavarman, son of king Pallava, who, as Prof. Hultzsch rightly suspects, is probably "a modification of the Maurya emperor Aśōka" (*South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. II, p. 342). No doubt, the earliest Pallava records were found in the Kistna delta. But this cannot be taken to point to an indigenous origin of the family. All these facts taken together raise a presumption that the Pallavas of Southern India were not an indigenous tribe in the sense that the Cōḷas, Pāṇḍyas and Cēras were.

Indian poets under the name Pārasīka, the term Pahlava or Pallava must denote the Arsacidan Parthians, as stated by Professor Weber.

'Toṇḍaiyar' appears to have been the name of the Pallavas according to Tamil literature[1], and the Pallava king was called Toṇḍaimāṉ. The Pallava country was called Tuṇḍāka-viṣaya[2] or Toṇḍāka-rāṣṭra[3] in the 8th century A.D. The origin of the name is obscure. Tradition has it that the first Toṇḍaimāṉ was the illegitimate son of a Cōḷa king by a Nāga woman.[4] It has also been suggested that the original name of the province bestowed on this illegitimate Cōḷa prince was *Toṇḍa-* or *Toṇḍar-maṇḍalam, i.e.* "the province of the slaves."[5] This story, if true,[6] would make the Pallavas a mixed tribe made up of the Cōḷas and the Nāgas.[7] The Nāgas may only denote here some aboriginal tribe. But it is doubtful if this story explains the origin of the Pallavas,[8] or if it only shows how they got possession of Kāñcīpuram and the surrounding country at some stage of their history. In the ancient Tamil poem *Maṇimēgalai*, reference is made to a Cōḷa king named Neḍumuḍikkiḷḷi (XXIV, 29)[9]

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[1] The Pallava king of Kāñcīpuram is often called *Toṇḍaiyar kōṉ*, and *Tooṇḍaiyōr marugaṉ* occurs in the ancient Tamil poem *Perumbāṇārruppaḍai*.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 203.

[3] *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. II, p. 359.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 377. We are not told where the adventurous Cōḷa met his sweetheart, but the latter was prudent enough to obtain the king's orders about the disposal of her issue. It was settled that she should let the child float on the sea with a twig of the *toṇḍai* plant tied round his waist. The king promised to recognize the child by this emblem and to provide a kingdom for him. Whether or not this is a later improvement of the story found in the poem *Maṇimēgalai* (to be mentioned presently) is a question which cannot be answered at present. The prince appears to have borne the name or surname Tiraiyaṉ, as the waves (*tirai*) of the sea brought him ashore. This name is preserved in Tiraiyaṉ-êri, the ancient name of the village Teṉṉêri in the Chingleput District (*Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1900-1, paragraph 9). Samudradatta-caturvēdimaṅgalam, one of the boundaries of the donative village in the Udayēndiram grant, was probably called after a Pallava king or prince named Samudradatta. The word *Samudradatta* might, in that case, be a Sanskṛt translation of *Tiraiyaṉ*, which is derived from *tirai*, 'waves' or 'the sea'.

[5] Taylor's *Catalogue*, Vol. III, p. 427.

[6] No reference is made to the story in any epigraphical record. There is, however, an allusion to it in the Rāyakōṭa plates of Skandaśiṣyavikramavarman, who must have been a Gaṅga-Pallava. The earlier Prākṛt and Sanskṛt charters of the Pallavas do not furnish any mythical genealogy. They simply mention the Bhāradvāja-*gōtra* to which the dynasty claimed to belong. The Kūram grant of Paramēśvaravarman I. (*South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. I, p. 152), the Kāśākuḍi plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla (*ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 355), and the Udayēndiram grant of the same king (*ibid.*, p. 370) tell us that king Pallava was the son of the *Mahābhārata* hero Aśvatthāman. The mother of king Pallava was the celestial nymph Mēnakā according to the second of the above-mentioned copper-plate grants and Madanī according to the Amarāvatī pillar (now set up in the Madras Museum) which must belong to a later period (*South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. I, p. 27). We have no means of ascertaining why the Pallavas chose Aśvatthāman for their ancestor. I would, however, offer a conjecture. At the time when the mythical Pallava genealogy was invented, the Pāṇḍyas, who were popularly believed to have been descended from the five Pāṇḍavas, were the enemies of the Pallavas. Aśvatthāman's enmity to the Pāṇḍavas is well known. It was he that conceived and carried out the terrible revenge which ended in the treacherous slaughter of the Pāṇḍava forces. The Kāśākuḍi plates tell us (*South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. II, p. 355) that, "at the rising of Aśvatthāman's anger, Kṛṣṇa, Arjuna and Bhīma became terrified and threw down their weapons without any opposition." The name Pallava is transferred in the copper-plate grants from the tribe to the first king. The same is the case in early Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya records.

[7] The biruda *Saṁkīrṇajātiḥ* occurs in the Upper cave at Trichinopoly. It was perhaps meant to be applied to the Pallava King Guṇabhara (Mahēndravarman I.) who excavated the cave; Director-General's *Annual* for 1903-04, p. 271.

[8] If this story has any reference to the origin of the Pallavas, it can only show that they were not indigenous.

[9] This Cōḷa king also bore the names Kiḷḷi-Vaḷavaṉ, Māvaṉ-Kiḷḷi, Vaḍivēṟkiḷḷi and Veṇvēṟkiḷḷi. He is believed to have fought a battle on the bank of the river Kāri against the Cēras and Pāṇḍyas. During his reign the town of Kāvirippūmbaṭṭiṉam appears to have been submerged in the ocean. There was also a severe famine in and around Kāñcīpuram during his reign. A Buddhist *caitya* built at Kāñcīpuram by two Cōḷa kings named Toḍukaḷaṟkiḷḷi and Tuṇaiyiḷaṅgiḷḷi is mentioned in the poem *Maṇimēgalai* (XXVIII, 172).

who casually met a Nāga[1] princess in a grove at his capital Kāvirippūmbaṭṭiṇam. Her name was Pīlivaḷai and she was the daughter of the Nāga king Vaḷaivaṇaṉ. The Cōḷa king had a son by the Nāga princess. But there is nothing here to show that the province of which Kāñcīpuram was the capital, was conferred on this prince. Consequently, this story appears to be different from the one mentioned above.[2]

The Pallavas with whose history we are now concerned, may, until their origin is satisfactorily established by indisputable evidence, be supposed to be identical with the Pahlavas, Palhavas and Pahṇavas of the Purāṇas. This identification is based on etymological grounds and supported by the fact that the Palhavas formed a distinct element in the population of Western India early in the second century. Their movement from Western India to the East Coast is not only possible but rendered likely by known historical facts. Future researches must disclose the actual circumstances which led to the movement of the Palhavas to the East Coast and to their assumption of sovereignty.

As I have already remarked, the Pallavas were the political successors of the Āndhras[3] in the Gōdāvarī and Kistna deltas and consequently, the former must have acquired sovereignty soon after the latter ceased to be the ruling power. The Āndhras probably lost their dominion about the middle of the third century and the Pallavas may be supposed to have taken their place about the end of the same century.[4]

Coming now to the history of the Pallavas, we find that the existence of the dynasty as well as its dominion has been unearthed mainly through the efforts of epigraphists. The family was altogether forgotten and only a few traces of its existence can be found in South-Indian literature.[5] This may be partly due to the fact that the bulk of the existing literature came into existence after the Pallavas had ceased to be the dominant power in the South.[6] Mr. Vincent Smith explains the fact by supposing that the Pallava power was superimposed upon the ancient

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1 The Tamil poem *Maṇimēgalai* also mentions a town named Nāgapuram in Śāvaka-nāḍu which appears to be the Tamil name of the island of Java. Two kings of Nāgapuram are here mentioned, *viz.* Bhūmicandra and Puṇyarāja, who claimed to be descended from the god Indra. That there was communication in ancient times between the Indian continent and the island of Java is proved by two Sanskṛt inscriptions found at Buitenzorg mentioning king Pūrṇavarman (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, plate facing p. 356). These records may belong roughly to the sixth century A. D.

2 There is, however, considerable resemblance between the two stories. Perhaps the account found in the *Maṇimēgalai* was added to in later times.

3 There are some Pallava coins which in style bear some resemblance to those of the Āndhras and may therefore, possibly belong to the same period, *i.e.* second and third centuries A. D.; Professor Rapson's *Indian Coins*, p. 37. It is also worthy of note that one of the last kings of the Āndhra dynasty was Sivaskanda, while the earliest known Pallava king is Śivaskandavarman. The language and phraseology of the earliest Pallava records also resemble those of the Āndhra inscriptions.

4 According to Sir Walter Elliot, the greater part of Drāviḍa bore in ancient times the name of Kurumba-bhūmi, which extended across the whole peninsula from the Coromandel to the Malabar Coast. The eastern portion of this tract of country received the name Toṇḍa-maṇḍalam on its conquest by the Cōḷas. The division of this province into twenty-four *kōṭṭams* is attributed to the Kurumbas. The Cōḷa king Karikāla is said to have subdued the Kurumbas. The tribe is, however, not even referred to in epigraphical records. Nor is there any mention of it in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* of Varāhamihira. In local records they are said to have belonged to the Yādava race and to have been Jainas by religion. It is difficult to decide whether the Kurumbas were actually Pallavas or distinct from them. Sir Walter Elliot assigns some coins to the Kurumbas and others to the Pallavas.

5 This might also be due to the fact that the Pallavas were looked upon as foreigners.

6 Early Tamil literature concerned itself mainly with the indigenous Cōḷas, Pāṇḍyas and Cēras.

territorial states much in the same way as the Mahratha power was in later times and was confined to the levying of tribute and blackmail.[1] Accordingly, the very existence, he says, of the Pallavas was forgotten and tradition never assigned any normal limits to the Pallava dominions as it did to the Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Cēra.[2]

The earliest known records of the Pallavas are three Prākṛt copper-plate charters, *viz.* (1) the Mayidavōlu plates of Śivaskandavarman,[3] (2) the Hirehaḍagalli plates of the same king[4] and (3) the British Museum plates of Cārudēvī.[5] The first and the third have been found in the Guntur District, while the finding place of the second is not known. The first two present to us king Śivaskandavarman, presumably the son of a king named Bappa. Śivaskandavarman may at present be supposed to have reigned about the beginning of the fourth century A.D.[6] In the Mayidavōlu plates he figures as the heir-apparent (*yuvamahārāja*) and as the reigning king in the other. These two grants give us a glimpse into the condition of Southern India which it is worth our while to examine for a moment. In the first place, Śivaskandavarman probably belonged to a period considerably later than the conquest of Southern India by the Pallavas, whenever that might have been. In other words, it does not look as if Śivaskandavaraman had conquered Kāñcīpuram.[7] The king is said to belong to the Bhāradvāja-*gōtra*. The earlier grant was issued from Kāñcīpuram, while the order contained in it was addressed to the governor at Dhañakaḍa, *i.e.* Amarāvatī in the modern Guntur district, and the donative village was situated in the Āndhra country (*Andhrāpatha*).[8] It thus appears that the Pallava dominions included at the time not only Kāñcīpuram and the surrounding province but also the Telugu country as far north as the river Kṛṣṇā. In the Hirehaḍagalli plates, Śivaskandavarman is said to have performed the *agniṣṭōma*, *vājapēya* and *aśvamēdha* sacrifices. The last could have been undertaken by the king only after conquering all his neighbours. That his dominions must have been extensive is clear from the grant, which is addressed to "lords of provinces...... royal princes, generals, rulers of districts, custom-house officers, prefects of countries" and others. The king's father had presented many crores of gold and one hundred thousand ox-ploughs. The land granted by

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[1] *Early History of India*, pp. 403 and 423.

[2] According to the *Toṇḍamaṇḍala-śatakam*, Toṇḍamaṇḍalam (*i.e.* the Pallava territory) was bounded on the north by the Tirupati and Kālahasti mountains; on the south by the river Pālār; and on the west by the Ghauts (Taylor's *Catalogue*, Vol. III, p. 29). A verse attributed to the poetess Auvaiyār describes Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam as the country bounded by the Pavaḷamalai, *i.e.* the Eastern Ghauts in the west; Vēṅgaḍam, *i.e.*, Tirupati in the north; the sea to the east; and Piṇāgai, *i.e.* the Southern Pennar in the south. The greatest length of the province is said to be full 20 *kādam* or nearly 200 miles. Another verse attributed to the same poetess is said to describe the characteristics of the southern kingdoms: Malai-nāḍu (*i.e.* Kēraḷa) has elephants; the Cōḷa country has plenty of food; the Pāṇḍya country has pearls; and the Toṇḍai-nāḍu is full of learned men. A variant of the name Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam is Daṇḍaka-nāḍu, which is apparently derived from the Sanskṛt Daṇḍakāraṇya, *i.e.* the forest of Daṇḍaka mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the Purāṇas.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 84 to 89.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 2 to 10.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 143 to 146.

[6] The last Āndhra king was Puḷumāyi III., whose reign might have come to an end in A.D. 236. Consequently, the Pallavas may be supposed to have asserted their independence about the end of the century. It is, however, possible that the event took place much earlier.

[7] If he were the first Pallava king of Kāñcīpuram, he would in all probability have mentioned his conquest of the town. It may, therefore, be supposed that the occupation of Kāñcīpuram by the Pallavas was effected by some predecessor of Śivaskandavarman.

[8] *Andhrāpatha* is a territorial term similar to *Uttarāpatha* and *Dakṣiṇāpatha*. *Vaḍugavaḻi*, which occurs in later Bāṇa inscriptions, is apparently a Tamil translation of the term *Andhrāpatha*.

Sivaskandavarman was to be "free from taxes......from the taking of sweet and sour milk......from troubles about salt and sugar, from forced labour, from the taking of the oxen in succession, from the taking of grass and wood, from the taking of vegetables and flowers." It thus appears that, unless specially exempted by the king, the villagers were liable to all these taxes and imposts. The earlier grant threatens with corporal punishment those who transgress the terms of the royal order. The British Museum plates appear to be later than the other two and mention three generations of Pallava kings, *viz.* the *Mahārāja* Vijaya-Skandavarman;[1] his son, the *Yuvamahārāja* Vijaya-Buddhavarman; and his son Buddhyaṅkura. These three Prākṛt grants prove that there was a time when the court language was Prākṛt even in Southern India.

Viṣṇugōpa of Kāñcī, mentioned in the Allahabad pillar of Samudragupta, might be later than the foregoing.[2] There is not much doubt that Viṣṇugōpa was a Pallava; and as the Allahabad pillar has been assigned to the middle of the fourth century,[3] it is evident that the Pallavas had by that time become firmly settled in Conjeeveram.

The Sanskṛt charters of the dynasty are later, and three of them[4] furnish the genealogy for five generations, *viz.* Skandavarman; his son Vīravarman; his son Skandavarman II.; his son the *Yuvamahārāja* Viṣṇugōpa; and his son Siṁhavarman II.[5] The Darśi fragment belongs to the time of the great-grandson of Vīra-Kōrcavarman,[6] *i.e.* Vīravarman. Two other charters,[7] which are later, furnish different pedigrees.[8] The former are dated from Daśanapura,

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[1] Skandavarman is the earliest name derived from the Sanskṛt charters, as will be pointed out presently. The interval of time which might have elapsed between the time of Śivaskandavarman and Vijaya-Skandavarman is not known. The latter was probably earlier than Skandavarman I. of the Sanskṛt charters.

[2] Viṣṇugōpa may be supposed to be later than Śivaskandavarman, because the latter cannot be assigned to a period subsequent to the middle of the 4th century A.D.

[3] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 319.

[4] These are (1) the Uruvupalli grant of the *Yuvamahārāja* Viṣṇugōpavarman (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 50); (2) the Māṅgaḷūr grant of Siṁhavarman (*ibid.*, p. 154); and (3) the Pīkira grant of the same king (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 159).

[5] Inscriptions have been found only of the *Yuvamahārāja* Viṣṇugōpa and of his son Siṁhavarman, and all that we can be sure about is that Siṁhavarman reigned for at least 11 years. As regards the first three kings, we cannot be certain that they actually ruled until we find records of their time. In the Tirukkaḷukkuṉṟam inscription of the Cōḷa king Rājakēsarivarman (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 279) reference is made to a Skandaśiṣya, who was presumably a predecessor of the Pallava king Narasiṁhavarman I. of the Siṁhaviṣṇu line. This Skandaśiṣya might be identical with one of the two Skandavarmans mentioned in the Sanskṛt charters.

[6] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 397f.

[7] These are: (1) the Cendalūr plates of Kumāraviṣṇu II. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 233) and (2) the Udayēndiram grant of Nandivarman (*ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 142).

[8] These two are dated from the 'victorious Kāñcīpura.' The Cendalūr plates give the following pedigree :—

Skandavarman.
|
Kumāraviṣṇu I.
|
Buddhavarman.
|
Kumāraviṣṇu II.

Dr. Hultzsch, who has edited the inscription, concludes from palæographical considerations that these four kings ruled in the interval between Siṁhavarman II. and Siṁhaviṣṇu. The Udayēndiram grant furnishes the following succession :—

Skandavarman I.
|
Siṁhavarman.
|
Skandavarman II.
|
Nandivarman.

It is at present impossible to say how the kings in these two pedigrees were related to one another or if they were connected with those Pallava kings whose grants are dated from Palakkaḍa, Daśanapura and Mēṉmātura.

Palakkaḍa, and Mēnmātura. The grants belonging to this series have been found mostly in the modern Nellore and Guntur districts. A single one has been discovered at Udayēndiram in the Guḍiyātam tāluka of the North Arcot district. But Professor Kielhorn, who has re-edited the text, has called in question its genuineness. The fact that the earlier inscriptions of this series are not dated from Kāñcīpuram raises a presumption that that city was not the Pallava capital for some time during the interval. If this presumption is established by future discoveries, it may be concluded that the Pallavas were driven out from Conjeeveram by one of the indigenous tribes of the Tamil country—say the Cōḷas[1] - and had to retire northwards for a time. The kings of this series are generally described as fervent *Bhāgavatas* meditating on the feet of Bhagavat (Viṣṇu) and as being devoted to the feet of their fathers. They belonged to the Bhāradvāja-*gōtra* and were the rightful *mahārājas* of the Pallavas, who were the abodes of the fortunes of other kings overcome by their own valour and who, according to rule, had performed many horse-sacrifices. Several kings of the series bore names connected with Viṣṇu such as Viṣṇugōpa and Kumāraviṣṇu. Perhaps it was a time when the Vaiṣṇava creed was in the ascendant. Future researches may prove that some of the Vaiṣṇava Āḻvārs flourished during the period.[2] Vaiṣṇava tradition has it that Tirumaḻiśai-Āḻvār, one of the early saints, was ill-treated by the contemporary Pallava king, who had subsequently to repent of his conduct. The boast of these Pallava kings to have performed horse-sacrifices may prove to have been borrowed from Śivaskandavarman of the Prākṛt charters, who must have actually undertaken the task. If my surmise prove correct, the Pallavas must have regained Kāñcīpuram towards the close of the period with which we are now dealing. The time when the kings who issued the Sanskṛt charters flourished is not known. But, roughly speaking, they may be assigned to the fifth and sixth centuries A.D.[3] The chief characteristic of Pallava history so far is that it has to be made out solely from copper-plate grants. No stone monuments of the period have been hitherto unearthed. Perhaps, the temples which did exist were of wood or some other perishable material. Mr. Fergusson says: "The conclusion seems inevitable that all the buildings anterior to the year A.D. 700 or thereabouts were erected in wood or with some perishable materials, and have perished either from fire or from causes, which in that climate, so soon obliterate any but the most substantial erections constructed with the most substantial materials."[4]

The Pallava dominions probably comprised at the time the modern districts of

[1] The Cōḷa king Karikāla, who probably flourished in the sixth century, claims to have been the overlord of Trilōcana-Pallava. The Cōḷa king is also said to have beautified the town of Kāñcīpuram with gold (*Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-6, Part II, paragraph 15). The astronomer Varāhamihira, who probably flourished at the beginning of the sixth century A.D., locates the Pahlavas in the south-west division and Kāñcīpuram in the southern division. If this is not due to a mistake, it may be that the Pallavas of the East Coast were at the time occupying an inferior position. But Varāhamihira's ideas of geography seem to have been somewhat hazy. He locates the Drāviḍas in the south-west division. But we know from chapter 9 of the Bhīṣmaparvan of the *Mahābhārata* that the Draviḍas were a southern tribe.

[2] Three of the Vaiṣṇava Āḻvārs were the earliest, *viz*., Poygai Āḻvār, Pūdaltāḻvār and Pēyāḻvār. The first was born at Kāñcīpuram, the second at Kaḍaṇmallai or Māvalipuram, *i.e.* the Seven Pagodas and the third at Tirumayilai, *i.e.* Mylapore. These three are believed to have been contemporaries. They were all born in Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam.

[3] The Siṁhaviṣṇu line must have become powerful either at the beginning of the seventh or the end of the sixth century A.D., and it may be supposed that there was some interval of time between the kings of the Sanskṛt charters and the Siṁhaviṣṇu line.

[4] *Cave Temples of India*, p. 111.

Nellore, Guntur, Kistna, Kurnool and, perhaps, also Anantapur, Cuddapah, and Bellary. The Kadambas of Banavāsi, who were originally Brāhmaṇas, threatened to defy the Pallavas. The founder of the Kadamba family was Mayūraśarman. He went to the Pallava capital in order to study the sacred lore. There he had a fierce quarrel with a Pallava horseman. What the cause of the quarrel was and how it ended we are not told. "With the hand dexterous in grasping the *kuśa* grass, the fuel, the stones, ladle, the melted butter and the oblation vessel, he (*i.e.* Mayūraśarman) unsheathed a flaming sword, eager to conquer the earth."[1] Having overcome the frontier guards of the Pallavas, Mayūraśarman occupied the inaccessible forest stretching to the gates of Śrīparvata, and levied taxes from the circle of kings headed by the great Bāṇa. The Pallava king was shrewd enough to recognize the Brāhmaṇa's bravery, and took him into his service. Mayūraśarman was rewarded with territory bordered by the waters of the western sea.[2] Thus a powerful enemy was gained over and treated as a useful ally. The Brāhmaṇa warrior's successors do not, however, appear to have been on friendly terms with the Pallavas. One of them named Mṛgēśavarman boasts of having been the fire of destruction to the Pallavas,[3] and another called Ravivarman is said to have conquered Viṣṇuvarman and other kings and overturned Caṇḍadaṇḍa, lord of Kāñcī.[4] Mr. Rice mentions a Naṇakkāsa Pallavarāja as overcoming the Kadamba king Kṛṣṇavarman and assigns him to the middle of the fifth century A.D.[5] Discussing the date of the Kadambas, Dr. Fleet concludes: "At present, all that can be safely said is that the Kadambas are to be referred approximately to the 6th century A.D."[6]

Later Eastern Calukya tradition refers to a battle between the Pallava king Trilōcana and the Calukya Vijayāditya,[7] who claims to have come from Ayōdhyā in the north. The latter was victorious, but lost his life.[8] The battle probably took place somewhere in the Cuddapah district, as the village of Muḍivēmu, where the queen of the victor took refuge after the battle, has been identified by Mr. Ramayya Pantulu with Peddamuḍiyam in the Cuddapah District.[9] The event may be placed roughly about the beginning of the 6th or end of the 5th century A.D.[10] Though this story is found only in records of the 11th century and is not corroborated by earlier inscriptions, it is evidently based on the

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 34, verse 13.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 35, verse 21.

[3] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 288.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 289.

[5] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, p. 5 (DG. 161.)

[6] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 291.

[7] His son Viṣṇuvardhana married a Pallava princess. He boasts of having overcome the Kaḍamba, Gaṅga and other kings. He was evidently on friendly terms with the Pallavas, though his father had been killed in a battle fought against them.

[8] This account occurs for the first time in an inscription of the Eastern Calukya king Vimalāditya, dated in A. D. 1018 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 349).

[9] *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1905-06, Part II, paragraph 40.

[10] This result is arrived at as follows: The Calukya king Pulikēśin II. was reigning about the beginning of the 7th century A.D. Four generations intervened between him and Vijayāditya who fought against Trilōcana Pallava. It was apparently the same Pallava king that was a feudatory of the Cōḷa king Karikāla, as I have already stated The Calukya invasion, the Cōḷa expansion and the Kadamba revolt must have contributed to the decline of the Pallavas in the 6th century A.D.; see also note 1 on the preceding page.

belief current in the 11th century, that the Pallava dominions extended in those early times to the modern Ceded districts.

From the reference in connection with the Kadamba Mayūraśarman to the great Bāṇa, it may be presumed that the latter was a Pallava feudatory and that his dominions lay somewhere in the Ceded districts.[1] We are not now concerned with the later history of the Bāṇas, who claim to be descended from the demon Mahābali. It is enough here to remark that a Bāṇa king figures as a feudatory of the Pallava king Nandippōttaraśar—apparently the last of the family, about whom more will be said in the sequel.[2] The Bāṇas seem to have played a very important part during the period subsequent to the decline of the Pallavas. Accordingly, so far as it is known at present, the only formidable opponents of Pallava expansion in the north during the period were the Kadambas. In the south, the Cōḷas, Pāṇḍyas, and Kēraḷas—or any one of them who happened to be dominant in the Tamil country—must have offered serious opposition.[3] But, at present, we have no records testifying to the struggle.

We now enter into a period of Pallava history for which the records are more numerous. The facts available for this period are definite and the chronology is not altogether a field of conjecture and doubt. The earliest stone monuments of Southern India belong to this period.[4] In fact, the foundations of Dravidian architecture were laid by the earlier kings of this series.[5] The Pallavas now engage in a life-and-death struggle against the Calukyas of Bādāmi in the Bombay Presidency, which partly accounts for the expansion of the former in the Tamil country. The hostility between the two tribes became so intense, that each looked upon the other as its natural enemy.[6] The history of this period consists mainly of the events of the war with the Calukyas which lasted almost a century[7] and which seems to have been the ultimate cause of the decline and downfall of both the Pallavas and Calukyas about the middle of the 8th century.[8] The relationship which the Pallava kings of this series bore to the earlier ones is nowhere explained, though four of the latter are mentioned among

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[1] This seems to be implied from the Tāḷagunda inscription, verses 14 to 16; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 34 f.

[2] *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1903-4, paragraph 11.

[3] The Cōḷas under Karikāla and Kiḷḷi-Vaḷavaṉ seem to have been in possession of Kāñcīpuram; see also above, p. 220, note 9, and p, 224, note 1.

[4] The beds cut into the natural caves and the Brāhmī inscriptions accompanying some of them are, of course, earlier. But their origin is obscure.

[5] The monolithic caves of the Tamil country were excavated by the Pallava king Mahēndravarman I. The *rathas* at the Seven Pagodas probably come next. The temples of Kailāsanātha and Vaikuṇṭha-Perumāḷ at Kāñcīpuram and the Shore temple at the Seven Pagodas have probably to be taken as later developments of Pallava architecture.

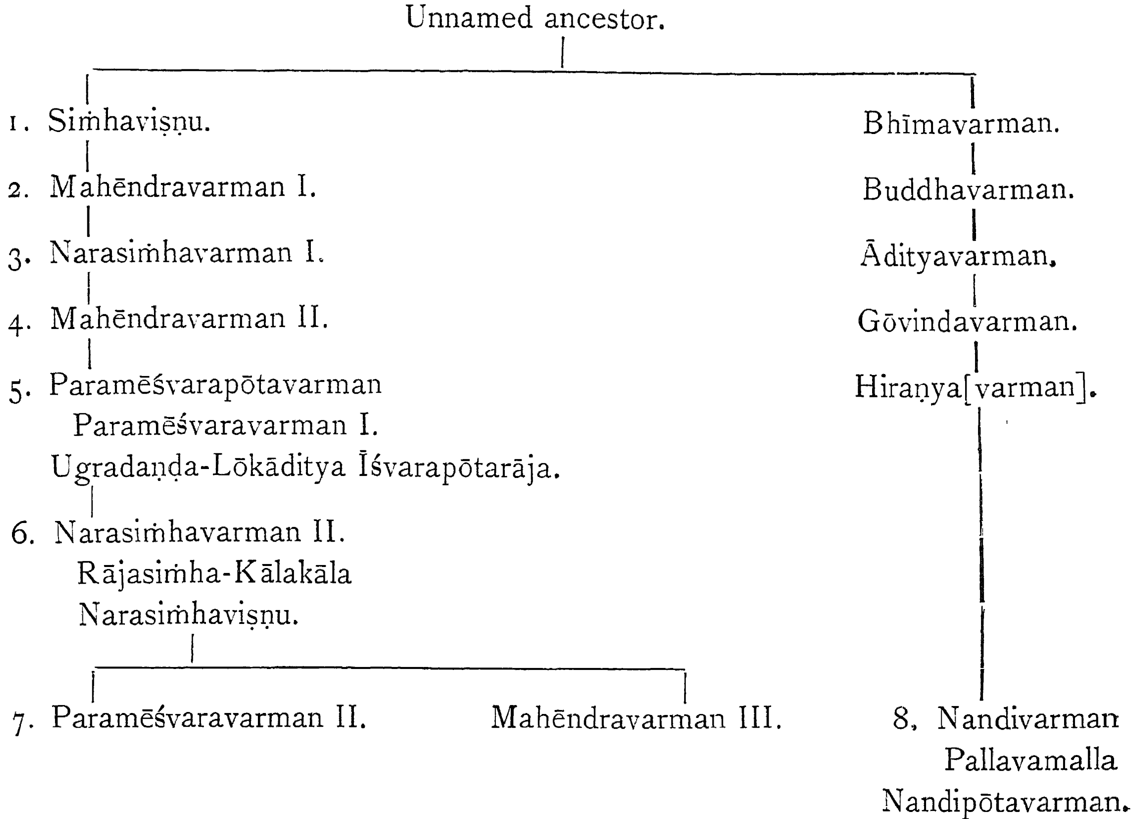
[6] No satisfactory explanation has, so far, been offered for this natural enmity between the Pallavas and Calukyas. It is possible that the hatred had a religious basis. The Pallavas were Śaivas and had the bull for their crest, while the Calukyas were devotees of the god Viṣṇu and had the boar for their crest. But there is no reason to suppose that in those early days religious bigotry went so far. The Calukyas are said to have come from Ayōdhyā in the north and the first thing they did after going to the south was the defeat of the Pallava king Trilōcana. From the time of Pulikēśin II. this enmity continued. Mr. Rice says: "The name Calukya bears a suggestive resemblance to the Greek name Seleukeia, and if the Pallavas were really of Parthian connection, as their name would imply, we have a plausible explanation of the inveterate hatred which inscriptions admit to have existed between the two, and their prolonged struggles may have been but a sequel of the contests between the Seleucidæ and the Arsacidæ on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates" (*Mysore*, Vol. I, p. 320).

[7] The war apparently began with the Eastern campaign of Pulikēśin II. which must have taken place some time before A. D. 634-5 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 3). The last important event of the war is the invasion of Kāñcī by the Calukya king Vikramāditya II., who reigned from A.D. 733-4 to 746-7. Kirtivarman II., son of Vikramāditya II., also claims to have led an expedition in his youth against the Pallavas. The Pallava king, unable to fight in open battle, took refuge in a fort, but was defeated by the Calukya prince.

[8] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 157.

the ancestors of the former in a Pallava copper-plate charter of the 8th century A. D.[1] The following is the pedigree of this line of Pallava kings :—

Pedigree of the Siṁhaviṣṇu family.[2]



The earliest king of this series is Siṁhaviṣṇu,[3] who claims to have vanquished the Malaya, Kaḷabhra, Māḷava, Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya kings, the Siṁhala king proud of the strength of his arms and the Kēralas.[4] His son and successor was Mahēndravarman I. The war against the Calukyas apparently began during this reign. The causes which brought it about are nowhere stated. Pulikēśin II. of Bādāmi, who was Mahēndravarman's contemporary, ascended the throne in A.D. 609 and soon overcame the great Harṣavardhana of Kanauj—the hero of Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*.[5] In the course of his *digvijaya*, Pulikēśin II. turned his arms against the South.[6] Piṣṭapura, the modern Piṭhāpuram in the Godavari district, was first reduced. Pulikēśin subsequently caused the splendour of the lord of the Pallavas, who had opposed the rise of his power,[7] to be obscured by the dust of his army and to vanish behind the walls of Kāñcīpura.

This invasion of the Pallava territory is indirectly acknowledged by Mahēndravarman, who claims to have defeated his chief enemies at Puḷḷalūra.[8] The Pallavas were

[1] These are Skandavarman, Viṣṇugōpa, Vīrakūrca and Siṁhavarman mentioned in the Kāśākuḍi plates; *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. II, p. 343.

[2] This pedigree is copied from the genealogy given by Dr. Hultzsch on p. 344 of *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. II, and revised by Dr. Fleet (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 323).

[3] The village of Maṇali in the Saidapet tāluka of the Chingleput district was in ancient times called Siṁhaviṣṇu-caturvēdimaṅgalam according to an inscription of the Cōḷa king Kulōttuṅga I; *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol III, p. 134.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 356, verse 20. | [5] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 351. | [6] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 11.

[7] This may imply a previous encounter of Pulikēśin against the Pallavas.

[8] *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. II, p. 343. It was here that two battles were fought between the English and Haidar Ali of Mysore.

driven out of their possessions in the Telugu country, and their capital Conjeeveram must also have been threatened. The hostile army evidently advanced as far as Puḻḻalūr near Conjeeveram, where a decisive battle was fought and the enemy was driven back. The Calukyas permanently occupied the northern part of the Pallava dominions, and Viṣṇuvardhana, younger brother of Pulikēśin II., who was probably sent out originally as the viceroy of the newly-acquired dominions, eventually established himself at Vēṅgī and started the Eastern Calukya dynasty sometime before A. D. 632.[1] It is just possible that this defeat and loss of dominion in the north led the Pallavas to extend their territory in the South. At any rate, no Pallava monuments—either documentary or architectural—have been found so far, prior to the 7th century A.D. in the Tamil country.[2]

The son of Mahēndravarman I. was Narasiṁhavarman I., who retrieved the fortunes of the family by repeatedly defeating the Cōḻas, Kēralas, Kaḻabhras and Pāṇḍyas.[3] He also claims to have written the word 'victory' as on a plate, on Pulikēśin's back, which was caused to be visible (*i.e.* which was turned in flight after defeat) at several battles.[4] Narasiṁhavarman carried the war into Calukya territory and actually captured Vātāpi, their capital. This claim of his is established by an inscription found at Bādāmi in the Bombay Presidency—the modern name of Vātāpi—from which it appears that Narasiṁhavarman bore the title Mahāmalla.[5] In later times, too, this Pallava king was known as Vātāpi-koṇḍa-Naraśiṅgappōttaraiyaṉ.[6] Dr. Fleet assigns the capture of the Calukya capital to about A.D. 642.[7] The war of Narasiṁhavarman with Pulikēśin II. is mentioned in the Singhalese chronicle *Mahāvaṁsa*.[8] It is also hinted in the Tamil *Periyapurāṇam*. The well-known saint Śiṟuttoṇḍa, who had his only son cut up and cooked in order to satisfy the appetite of the god Śiva disguised as a devotee, is said to have reduced to dust the city of Vātāpi for his royal master, who could be no other than the Pallava king Narasiṁhavarman.[9] The Śaiva saint Tiruñānasambandar visited Śiṟuttoṇḍa at his native village of Tiruccеṅgāṭṭaṅguḍi, and the *Dēvāra* hymn dedicated to the Śiva temple of the village mentions the latter and thus helps to fix the date of the former as well as of the Śaiva revival of which he was the central figure.

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[1] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 352.

[2] The earliest architectural monuments of the Pallavas are the monolithic caves and the documentary ones are the Pallava inscriptions found in them.

[3] *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. I, p. 152.

[4] These took place at Pariyaḻa Maṇimaṅgala, Śūramāra and other places. If Pulikēśin was defeated at Maṇimaṅgalam in the Conjeeveram tāluka, he must have advanced into the heart of the Pallava territory. It is not unlikely that these battles as well as the encounter at Puḻḻalūr, were fought in the same campaign. In the battles of Pariayaḻa, Maṇimaṅgala and Śūramāra, Narasiṁhavarman probably fought as *Yuvarāja* against the invading army and drove it back. The battle of Puḻḻalūr, which was apparently earlier, might have been fought by Mahēndravarman himself, who may be supposed to have been defending the capital against the invader.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 100, and *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 328.

[6] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 280.

[7] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 359.

[8] Mr. L. C. Wijesinha's *Translation*, p. 41 ff. The Singhalese prince Māṇavamma was a friend of Narasiha and helped him to crush his enemy king Vallabha. The grateful Narasiha supplied Māṇavamma twice with an army to invade Ceylon. On the second occasion he was successful and occupied Ceylon, which he is supposed to have ruled from A.D. 691 to 726.

[9] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 277. Paramēśvaravarman I. also claims to have destroyed the Calukya capital. A still later conquest of Vātāpi is also known. It was effected by a Koḍumbāḻūr chief, apparently during the second half of the 9th century A.D. (*Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1907-8, Part II, paragraph 85).

The war with the Calukyas resulted in the abeyance of their power for some time in their dominions. The Pallavas probably held the territory during the time of Narasiṁhavarman, his son Mahēndravarman II., and during the early part of the reign of the latter's son and successor, Paramēśvaravarman I.[1] The Kūram copper-plates of the last king give a lengthy description of a fearful battle which was probably fought at a village called Peruvaḷanallūr.[2] The battle ended in the defeat of the Calukya Vikramāditya I., whose army consisted of several *lakṣas* and who took to flight covered only by a rag. But Paramēśvaravarman is said in other records to have destroyed the city of Raṇarasika— a *biruda* of Vikramāditya I.[3] Perhaps the former repulsed at Peruvaḷanallūr a counter-invasion undertaken in consequence of his attack on the Calukya capital Vātāpi. On the other hand, Vikramāditya I. claims to have "received by surrender the town of Kāñcī after defeating the lord of the Pallavas who had been the cause of the humiliation and destruction of his family."[4] Apparently as a result of this victory, the Kurnool District, or at least a portion of it, which, as I have already pointed out, belonged originally to the Pallavas, passed into the hands of the Calukyas. Two copper-plate grants of Vikramāditya and two of his son Vinayāditya have been found in that district.[5] Paramēśvaravarman's son and successor was Rājasiṁha,[6] who bore the surnames Kālakāla, Atyantakāma,[7] Raṇajaya, Śrībhara, Citrakārmuka and Ēkavīra.[8] He claims to have got rid of all sins by walking on the path of the Śaiva doctrine.[9] The biruda Śivacūḍāmaṇi,[10] which he bore, confirms that Rājasiṁha was a follower of the Śaiva creed.[11]

[1] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 362. Paramēśvaravarman bore the titles Ugradaṇḍa and Lōkāditya and was also called Īśvarapōtarāja; *ibid.*, p. 329 and *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. I, p. 145.

[2] *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. I, p. 153f, and *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 344. The name Peruvaḷanallūr suggests that it must have been situated in the Tamil country, and if this be the case, the Pallavas must only have successfully repelled a Calukya invasion.

[3] *South-Ind. Inscrs*, Vol. I, p. 13.

[4] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 362. The 'humiliation' and 'destruction' of the Calukya family here referred to must allude to the events which happened during the reign of the Pallava king Narasiṁhavarman.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 363 and 369. A fifth Calukya grant, belonging to the reign of Vikramāditya, is edited in the volume of Nellore inscriptions, published by Messrs. Butterworth and Venugopaul Chetty. It has been re-edited by Professor Hultzsch (*Ep., Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 98). But, as the village granted by the charter has not been identified, it is not quite safe to speculate about the influence which the Calukyas of Bādāmi might have exercised over the history of the Nellore district.

[6] The Kūram plates of Paramēśvaravarman mention prince Vidyāvinīta-Pallavādhirāja, after whom the Śiva temple at Kūram was called Vidyāvinīta-Pallava-Paramēśvara. One of the niches of the outer wall in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcīpuram is called Śrī-Nityavinītēśvara gṛha, which might owe its name to a Pallava prince called Nityavinīta. These two princes, Vidyāvinīta and Nityavinīta, do not figure in the Pallava pedigree so far as it has been made out. The latter name occurs in the Trichinopoly upper cave as a *biruda* of Mahēndravarman I; see the Director-General's *Annual* for 1903-4, p. 271.

[7] Atyantakāma and Śrībhara figure also as the titles of Narasiṁhavarman in the Māmallapuram inscriptions; *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. I, p. 1. Sir Walter Elliot figures a coin (*Coins of Southern India*, Pl. I, No. 34) which bears on the obverse a standing bull facing the proper left and the legend *Śrībharaḥ* over its back. The reverse seems to bear a star. The legend on No. 37 of the same plate has been deciphered by Professor Hultzsch as *Śrīnidhi* and that on No. 33 as *Mānapara.*

[8] Ēkavīrappāḍiccēri, a quarter of Kāñcīpuram during the reign of Parāntaka I., was evidently called after Rājasiṁha; *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. I, p. 139.

[9] *Ibid*, p. 14.

[10] The village of Ukkal in the North Arcot District was called Śivacūḷāmaṇimaṅgalam, apparently after Rājasiṁha; *ibid*, Vol. III, p. 2.

[11] The birudas *Īśānaśaraṇaḥ* (*South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. I, p. 15), *Śaṁkarabhaktaḥ* and *Īśvarabhaktaḥ* (*ibid*, p. 18) of Rājasiṁha show that he was a devotee of the god Śiva. It is therefore not impossible that he is one of the sixty-three canonized Śaiva saints. The name Rājasiṁha would connect him with the saint Kaḻaṛciṅga-Nāyaṇār, while the surnames *Abhirāmaḥ* (*ibid*, p. 14) and *Śrī-Ēkasundaraḥ* (*ibid*, p. 17) would tempt one to dentify him with the saint Aiyaḍigaḷ Kāḍavarkōṇ. Both of these saints were Pallava kings.

Rājasiṁha built the central shrine of the Kailāsanātha temple[1] at Conjeeveram[2], while the shrine close to it in the same temple owes its existence to Mahēndravarman III.,[3] son of Rājasiṁha. Paramēśvaravarman II., another son of Rājasiṁha, seems to have constructed the Vaikuṇṭha-Perumāḷ temple at Conjeeveram, which is called Paramēśvara-Viṣṇugṛham[4] in one of its inscriptions and Paramēccura-Viṇṇagaram[5] in one of the hymns of the Vaiṣṇava saint Tirumaṅgai-Āḻvār. It is not likely that Paramēśvaravarman I. built this temple, because no records of his reign have been found in it, while the death of Paramēśvaravarman II. is referred to in the ancient records engraved on a wall of the verandah running round the central shrine.[6] The events which took place after his death are depicted by sculptures cut on the walls of the same verandah.[7] The Kāśākuḍi copper-plates hint that there was some dispute about the succession after the death of Paramēśvaravarman II.[8] Nandivarman, also called Nandivarman Pallavamalla, a collateral cousin of Paramēśvaravarman, is said to have been chosen by the subjects and to have been ruling the kingdom of the latter.[9] At any rate, there is not much doubt that internal dissensions had set in in the Pallava family.[10]

[1] Dr. Hultzsch calls the Śiva temple on the rock in the middle of the bund of the large tank at Panamalai in the Villupuram tāluka of the South Arcot District a cave temple (*South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. I, p. 24). The description of it in the *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District*, Vol. I, p. 385, does not warrant its being called a 'cave temple,' and Mr. Sewell in his *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 209, describes it as "an old Śiva temple on a small hill." The last verse of Rājasiṁha's inscription in the Kailāsanātha temple (*Rājasiṁhō Raṇajayaḥ*, etc.) is engraved on the Panamalai hillock.

[2] A miracle is reported to have been wrought during the reign of Rājasiṁha. He is said to have heard a "heavenly voice without body" (*ambaragatā vāṇī śarīraṁ vinā*). Perhaps this was the cause of his building the Rājasiṁhēśvara temple at Kāñcīpuram, though no statement to that effect is made. In giving an account of the life of the Śaiva saint Pūśalār Nāyaṇār, the Tamil *Periyapuraṇam* mentions the building of a Śiva temple at Kāñcīpuram by a Kāḍava (*i.e.* Pallava) king. The god Śiva is said to have appeared to the latter in a dream and informed him that he should alter the date of consecration of the temple constructed by him. This was necessary as the god had to be present at an imaginary shrine built by the saint Pūśalār-Nāyaṇār. In the Kailāsanātha temple inscription, the nature of the information conveyed by the "heavenly voice without body" is not given. Consequently, we cannot be sure if it refers to the story mentioned in the *Periyapurāṇam*. But it seems to me that a pretty long interval must have elapsed between the time when the "heavenly voice" spoke and the date of composition of the inscription engraved on the walls of the central shrine in the Kailāsanātha temple. Accordingly, we shall not be far wrong if we suppose that the "heavenly voice" was heard and the central shrine was built during the reign of Rājasiṁha, while the inscription commemorating the event was composed during the reign of Rājasiṁha's son Mahēndravarman. This, it seems to me, would leave a sufficient interval for the mystification of the event which took place in the reign of Rājasiṁha and for its transformation into a miracle.

[3] *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. I, p. 23. It may be that Mahēndravarman III. did not succeed to the throne and therefore he is not mentioned either in the Udayēndiram grant or in the Kāśākuḍi plates.

[4] *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. II, p. 344.

[5] This is the Tamil form of the name Paramēśvara-Viṣṇugṛha; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 293.

[6] *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. II, p. 344.

[7] *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1905-6, Part II, paragraphs 2 and 3.

[8] Nandivarman is described as "descended from a pure mother" (*śuddha-mātr-anvavāyaḥ*) and as belonging to the line of Bhīma. It may be that the composer of the Kāśākuḍi plates wants to convey a hint that Paramēśvaravarman II. or the Siṁhaviṣṇu line to which he belonged was not descended from a pure mother. If this conjecture is proved by future researches, either Paramēśvaravarman II. or Siṁhaviṣṇu must have been the illegitimate son of his father; also see p. 220 above and note 7.

[9] *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. II, p. 344. How insecure his position was in spite of his choice by the subjects is shown by the Udayēndiram grant. Here we are told that the Pallava general Udayacandra "bestowed the whole kingdom many times on the Pallava" (*ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 372) by his victories against the enemies of the latter.

[10] The position which the members of Bhīmavarman's line occupied is not known. In fact there is no mention of them except in the Kāśākuḍi plates. The circumstances that led Nandivarman to rise from the insignificant position of his ancestors and to assert his independence are nowhere stated. His father Hiraṇya is evidently identical with the Hiraṇyavarma-Mahārāja mentioned more than once in an inscription in the Vaikuṇṭha-Perumāḷ temple at Conjeeveram. The Tamil *Kōyirpurāṇam* informs us that a Gauḍa prince named Siṁhavarman went on his *tīrthayātrā* to Cidambaram (then a forest) where he was transformed into Hiraṇyavarman by bathing in a tank. He is said to have covered with gold the Śiva temple at the place. Hiraṇyavarman is here spoken of as a Cōḷa king.

This conclusion is borne out by the Udayēndiram plates of the same king. Here we are told that his general Udayacandra killed with his own hand the Pallava king Citramāya, who seems to have been allied with the Dramiḷa princes.[1] The Calukyas of Bādāmi were not slow to take advantage of the weakness of the Pallavas. Vikramāditya II., grandson of Vinayāditya, having "resolved to uproot completely his natural enemy, the Pallava, who had robbed of their splendour the previous kings born from his race, reached with great speed the Tuṇḍāka-viṣaya (Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam), attacked at the head of a battle and put to flight the Pallava called Nandipōtavarman, who had come to meet him".[2] The city of Kāñcī was captured by the enemy. The procedure adopted by Vikramāditya after the capture of the Pallava capital shows that the frequent wars waged in India by ancient kings against one another did not much affect either the country or the peaceful inhabitants. In fact, the atrocities of later Indian warfare were unknown in early times. It is said of Vikramāditya that, though he took Kāñcī, he did not destroy it and that, having made the twice-born, the distressed and the helpless rejoice by continual gifts, he acquired great merit by granting heaps of gold to the Rājasiṁhēśvara (the modern Kailāsanātha) and other temples. Manu lays down the laws of war thus[3] :—

न सुप्तं न विसन्नाहं न नग्नं न निरायुधम् ।
नायुध्यमानं पश्यन्तं न परेण समागतम् ॥ vii. 201.

"(Let no man engaged in combat smite) one who sleeps ; nor one who is without the coat of mail ; nor one who is naked ; nor one who is disarmed ; nor one who is a spectator but not a combatant ; nor one who is encountering another."

जित्वा संपूजयेद्देवान्ब्राह्मणांश्चैव धार्मिकान् ।
प्रदद्यात्परिहारांश्च ख्यापयेदभयानि च ॥ vii. 201.

"Having conquered (a country), let (him) respect the deities (adored in it) and the virtuous Brāhmaṇas ; let (him) also grant immunities (to the people) and publicly proclaim safety (to all)."

Megasthenes, who came to India in the 4th century before Christ, remarks as follows about the Hindu laws of war :[4] "For, whereas among other nations, it is usual in the contests of war to ravage the soil, and thus to reduce it to an uncultivated

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[1] *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. II, p. 372. We are told that Pallavamalla was besieged in Nandipura by the Dramiḷa princes. It has therefore to be concluded that the Dramiḷa princes took up the cause of Citramāya, who was probably the son of Paramēśvaravarman II. or some one else who had a right to the Pallava throne. Among the Dramiḷa princes allied with prince Citramāya, the Pāṇḍyas must have been prominent, as they claim to have defeated the Pallavas at Śaṅkaramaṅgai, which is Sanskritised in the Udayēndiram grant as Śaṁkaragrāma (*Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1907-08, Part II, paragraph 28).

[2] *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. I, p. 146. The expedition against Kāñcīpuram was probably undertaken by Vikramāditya II. soon after his coronation in A. D. 733-34 (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 374). The historical portion of the Kēndūr plates of Kīrtivarman II. edited by Professor K. B. Pathak (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 200 to 206) is almost identical with that of the Vakkalēri inscription (*ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 200 to 205).

[3] Āpastamba says : "The Āryas forbid the slaughter of those who have laid down their arms, of those who (beg for mercy) with flying hair or joined hands, and of fugitives" (II. 5, 10, 11). Baudhāyana declares : "Let him not fight with those who are in fear, intoxicated, insane or out of their minds, nor with those who have lost their armour, nor with women, infants, aged men and Brāhmaṇas" (I., 10, 18, 11).

[4] Mr. R. C. Dutt's *Civilization in Ancient India*, Vol. I, p. 226.

waste, among the Indians, on the contrary, by whom husbandmen are regarded as a class that is sacred and inviolable, the tillers of the soil, even when battle is raging in their neighbourhood, are undisturbed by any sense of danger; for the combatants on either side, in waging the conflict, make carnage of each other, but allow those engaged in husbandry to remain quite unmolested. Besides they neither ravage an enemy's land with fire, nor cut down its trees." These principles inculcated by Manu and observed in ancient times were evidently not forgotten in the 8th century A.D.

Returning to the capture of Kāñcī by the Calukya Vikramāditya II., we find that the event is corroborated by an inscription of the king found on a pillar in the temple of Kailāsanātha.[1] This defeat of the Pallavas by the Calukyas seems to have dealt the death-blow to the sovereignty of the former.[2] Thus the history of the Pallavas emphasises the oft-repeated lesson of Indian history that, when internal dissensions set in in a dynasty, its decline and disappearance is only a question of time. Powerful kings could by their personal prowess only put off the downfall to a more distant date. Pallava ascendancy came to an end about the middle of the 8th century and, curiously enough, their rivals, the Calukyas of Bādāmi, also ceased to be the reigning power about the same time.[3]

Before tracing the later history of the Pallavas, it is necessary to refer briefly to the monuments of Pallava rule. A few Pallava temples have been already mentioned. Architecture in stone began in the Tamil country with the cutting out of caves in the living rock. Eight of these caves have been discovered so far, *viz.* (1) the two rock-cut caves at Trichinopoly,[4] (2) the cave at Vallam near Chingleput,[5] (3) the cave at Śīyamaṅgalam[6] in the Wandiwash tāluka of the North Arcot District, (4) the cave at Mahēndravāḍi near Sholinghur,[7] (5) the cave at Dalavānūr in the South Arcot District,[8] (6) the cave at Maṇḍagappaṭṭu in the same district[9] and (7) the unfinished

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 359 f.

[2] Nandivarman Pallavamalla himself reigned not less than 50 years (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 137) and the Pallavas appear to have continued in some form or other until they were conquered by the Cōḷa king Áditya I. (*ibid*, Vol. IX, p. 88).

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 157.

[4] There are two caves at Trichinopoly, As stated in two of its inscriptions, the upper one was excavated during the reign of the Pallava king Guṇabhara Śatrumalla, *i.e.* Mahēndravarman I. (*South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. I, pp. 28-30). The lower one bears no inscriptions, but in all probability it was also cut out by the Pallavas.

[5] The inscription in this cave informs us that it was cut out by a servant of Pagāppiḍugu Laḷitāṅkura Śatrumalla Guṇabhara Mahēndrappōttaraśar, *i.e.* of Mahēndravarman I.; *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. II, p. 341.

[6] This was excavated by king Laḷitāṅkura, *i.e.* Mahēndravarman I. and was called Avanibhājana-Pallavēśvara; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 320. I recently inspected the cave and the two inscriptions found in it. The two outer pillars of the cave on which they are engraved also bear at the top a well-executed lion (one on each of the two pillars) with the tail folded over its back. The tail resembles that of the lion figured in No. 54, Plate II, of Sir Walter Elliot's *Coins of Southern India*, which has been attributed to the Pallavas. It has, therefore, to be concluded that the lion was the Pallava crest at some period or other of their history.

[7] This is dedicated to the god Viṣṇu and was called Mahēndra-Viṣṇugṛha. It was caused to be made by king Guṇabhara "on (the bank of) the Mahēndrataṭāka (tank) in the great (city of) Mahēndrapura." (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 153).

[8] King Narēndra (or Narēndrappōttaraiyaṉ) who bore the surname Śatrumalla cut out this cave, which was called Śatrumallēśvarālaya, *i.e.*, the shrine called Śatrumallēśvara; *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1904-5, Part II, para. 3.

[9] This cave was dedicated to the gods Brahmā, Īśvara and Viṣṇu. The inscription which it bears is much damaged. Consequently, the name of the king who excavated it cannot be made out; see the paragraph quoted in the preceding note.

caves at Pañcapāṇḍavamalai near Arcot in the North Arcot District.[1] The first five (excluding the lower cave at Trichinopoly) came into existence duing the reign of Mahēndravarman I. as testified to by the inscriptions contained in them.[2] Of these five, the one at Mahēndravāḍi is dedicated to Viṣṇu and the other four to Śiva. They must have come into existence during the first half of the seventh century A.D., as their excavator Mahēndravarman I. flourished during that period.[3] Of the remaining three, the Maṇḍagappaṭṭu cave might also have come into existence during the same period. The Pañcapāṇḍavamalai cave is perhaps the last of them all.[4]

About the *rathas* at the Seven Pagodas, Mr. Fergusson says:[5] "On the whole it seems more probable that their date is somewhat earlier than 700, but their execution may have been spread over half a century or even more, so that absolute precision is impossible in the present state of the evidence. Still until some fixed date or some new information is afforded, 650 to 700 may, probably, be safely relied upon as very nearly that at which the granite rocks at Mahavallipur were carved into the wondrous forms which still excite our admiration there." This, then, is the approximate date of the construction of the *rathas* derivable from a study of the sculptures and the architecture. Let us see if epigraphical research helps us towards a closer approximation. The popular name of the Seven Pagodas is Māvalavaram[6] which is believed to connect the town with the demon Mahābali overpowered by the god Viṣṇu in his *vāmana-avatāra* or dwarf-incarnation. Mr. Rice is of opinion that the village owes its existence to the Bāṇas mentioned above as descendants of the demon Mahābali (or Mahābali-cakravartin).[7] But, in ancient Cōḷa inscriptions found at the Seven Pagodas, the name of the place is Māmallapuram which is evidently a corruption of Mahāmallapuram,[8] meaning 'the city or town

[1] The monolithic cave at Pañcapāṇḍavamalai consists of seven cells with six pairs of pillars. A short distance above the cells is a rock-cut Jaina image. On another portion of the same rock is an inscription of the Pallava king Nandippōttaraśar, dated in the 50th year of his reign. It records the cutting-out of the image of a Jaina goddess with that of a preceptor of the same creed. In all probability the monolithic cave is also of Jaina origin; see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 136 f.

[2] At Pallāvaram near Madras is a monolithic cave now occupied by the Muḥammadans. The inscriptions in Pallava-Grantha characters found in this cave were brought to my notice by Mr. K. V. Subramania Aiyar, B.A., of the Madras Archæological Survey. They consist of *birudas*, some of which are similar to those engraved in the Trichinopoly upper cave (*Annual* for 1903-4, p. 271). The Pallāvaram cave may also have been excavated during the reign of Mahēndravarman I. On the hill at Tirukkaḷukkuṉṟam in the Chingleput District is a rock-cut cave belonging to the Pallava period.

[3] See page 228 above.

[4] There are a number of other monolithic monuments which may be assigned with considerable certainty to the Pallavas. The Dharmarāja-ratha, the Gaṇēśa temple, the Dharmarāja-maṇḍapa and the Rāmānuja-maṇḍapa at the Seven Pagodas and the Atiraṇacaṇḍēśvara temple at Śāḷuvaṅguppam bear inscriptions which prove beyond doubt that they were all excavated by Pallava kings. Besides these, there is a pretty large number of caves at the Seven Pagodas which bear no inscriptions. These may also be assigned to the Pallava period. At Māmaṇḍūr in the Arcot tāluka of the North Arcot District are four rock-cut caves. One of them bears an inscription in Pallava-Grantha characters which is very badly damaged. The irrigation tank which is not far from these caves is called Citramēga-taṭāka in two Cōḷa inscriptions found in one of the caves. Perhaps both the caves and the tank owe their existence to a Pallava king named Citramēgha (Director-General's *Annual* for 1903-4, p. 206). At Tirruveḷḷarai near Trichinopoly are two monolithic caves, one within the enclosure of the Viṣṇu temple and the other in the Śiva temple (*Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1905-6, Part II, paragraph 4). At Aragaṇḍanallūr near Tirukoilūr in the South Arcot District is an unfinished rock-cut cave (*Gazetteer of the South Arcot District*, Vol. I, p. 371). It may, for the present, be supposed that all these caves came into existence during the period of the Pallavas.

[5] *Cave Temples of India*, p. 110 f. [6] Carr's *Seven Pagodas*, p. 66. [7] See his *Mysore*, Vol. I, p. 301.

[8] *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. I, p. 64. The Vaiṣṇava saint Tirumaṅgai Āḷvār calls the place Kaḍaṉmalli, *i.e.* "Mallai in the sea." Mallai was evidently the popular form of Mallapuram or Mahāmallapuram.

of Mahāmalla.' I have already mentioned the fact that Mahāmalla occurs as a surname of the Pallava king Narasiṁhavarman I. in a mutilated record at Bādāmi in the Bombay Presidency.[1] It is thus not unlikely that Mahāmallapuram or Māvalavaram was founded by the Pallava king Narasiṁhavarman, the contemporary and opponent of the Calukya Pulikēśin II., whose accession took place about A. D. 609. Professor Hultzsch is of opinion that the earliest inscriptions on the *rathas* are *birudas* of a king named Narasiṁha.[2] It may, therefore, be concluded that the village was originally called Mahāmallapuram or Māmallapuram, after the Pallava king Narasiṁhavarman I., and that the earliest of the *rathas* were cut out by him. The remaining *rathas* must also have come into existence during the period of Pallava supremacy, but, perhaps at a somewhat later date.[3] Other monuments of Pallava rule[4] are the large tank at Mahēndravāḍi built by the Pallava king Mahēndravarman I.[5] and the reservoir at Teṉṉēri in the Conjeeveram tāluka.[6] The original name of the latter was Tiraiyaṉēri[7] which is mentioned in the Kāśākuḍi plates. Other tanks must also have existed at the time.[8] But these two are the only ones which can be identified with certainty.

The Pallavas appear to have been Śaivas at first[9] and accordingly adopted the bull for their crest[10] and the club (*khaṭvāṅga*) for their banner. Some of the kings

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[1] See page 228 above.

[2] *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. I, p. 1.

[3] The Gaṇēśa temple and the Dharmarāja-maṇḍapa are called *Atyantakāma-Pallavēśvara-gṛha*. The same name is engraved on the outside of the third storey of the Dharmarāja-ratha. Perhaps the last was completed by Atyantakāma, who might have constructed the remaining *rathas* as well as the Gaṇēśa temple and the Dharmarāja-maṇḍapa. The Śāḷuvaṅguppam cave was excavated by Atiraṇacaṇḍa-Pallava and was accordingly called *Atiraṇacaṇḍa Pallavēśvara-gṛha*. The identity of Atyantakāma and Atiraṇacaṇḍa with any of the kings known from the copper-plate grants remains to be established by future researches. The Cōḷa inscriptions in the Shore Temple at the Seven Pagodas mention three shrines at Māmallapuram, *viz.*, Kṣatriyasiṁha-Pallava-Īśvara Rājasiṁha-Pallava-Īśvara and Paḷḷikoṇḍaruḷiya-dēvar, which were situated in the temple called Jalaśayana, *i.e.*, the Shore Temple. Dr. Hultzsch thinks the two latter denote respectively the Kailāsanātha (called Rājasiṁha-Pallavēśvara in ancient times) temple at Kāñcīpuram and the Śrīraṅganāyaka temple at Paḷḷikoṇḍa near Viriñcipuram. It seems to me very unlikely that the two latter had anything to do with the Shore Temple at the Seven Pagodas. Kṣatriyasiṁha-Pallava-Īśvara was in all probability the ancient name of the principal shrine in the Shore Temple. Rājasiṁha-Pallava-Īśvara might be the name of the smaller shrine in the same temple, while Paḷḷikoṇḍaruḷiya-dēvar probably denotes the shrine connected with the larger temple, where a large mutilated statue of the god Viṣṇu is lying. If my conjecture is correct, it may be concluded that the Pallava king Rājasiṁha built the smaller of the two shrines which go by the name of the Shore Temple. It is just possible that Kṣatriyasiṁha was another name of the same king. In this case, the whole of the Shore Temple must have been built by the Pallava king Rājasiṁha, who constructed the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcīpuram.

[4] It is not unlikely that the shrine of Kailāsanātha at Tiruppaṭṭūr in the Musiri tāluka of the Trichinopoly District was built during the Pallava period; see the *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1907-8, Part II, paragraph 9.

[5] See page 232 above. The town of Mahēndravāḍi was called Mahēndrapura in ancient times. It might have been founded by the Pallava king Mahēndravarman I. or renamed by him.

[6] As pointed out in the earlier portion of this article (see page 220 above, note 4), this tank was apparently constructed by the Pallava king Tiraiyaṉ, whose identity with any of the kings known from the copper-plate grants and stone inscriptions has to be disclosed by future researches.

[7] *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. II, p. 345.

[8] The tank called Paramēśvara-taṭāka at Kūram in the Chingleput District was evidently constructed by the Pallava king Paramēśvaravarman I. The reservoir at Māmaṇḍūr in the Arcot tāluka of the North Arcot District probably came into existence during the period of Pallava supremacy. The Kāvēripāk and Uttaramallūr tanks were probably later; see the Director-General's *Annual* for 1903-4, pp. 203 to 206.

[9] This may be presumed from names like Śivaskandavarman and Skandavarman borne by some of the earlier kings. One of the later kings was so staunch a Śaiva that he declares he got rid of all his sins by following the Śaiva creed; see page 229 above, and note 11.

[10] See also p. 226 above, note 6.

who issued the Sanskṛt charters were probably adherents of the Vaiṣṇava faith as I have already remarked.[1] Jainism seems to have flourished along with these two creeds and, if the Tamil *Periyapurāṇam* is to be believed, was in the ascendant about the beginning of the seventh century A.D. There was a big monastery at a place called Pāṭalipuram (in the South Arcot District).[2] At Mayilāppūr in Madras there were Jainas at the time when Tiruñānasambandar visited the place.[3] The Pāṇḍya king Neḍumāṛaṇ was originally a Jaina but was converted to the Śaiva creed by Tiruñānasambandar.[4] According to the *Periyapurāṇam*, the saint Tirunāvukkaraśar (also called Appar), an elder contemporary of Tiruñānasambandar, was first persecuted and subsequently patronised by a Pallava king[5] who is said to have demolished the Jaina monastery at Pāṭaliputtiram and built a temple of Śiva called Guṇadaravīccaram.[6] As the younger Tiruñānasambandar appears to have been a contemporary of the Pallava king Narasiṁhavarman I., the elder Appar may be taken to have spent most of his life in the reign of Narasiṁhavarman's father Mahēndravarman I., one of whose surnames was Guṇabhara according to the Trichinopoly cave Sanskṛt inscriptions.[7] If all this be true, the Pallava king Mahēndravarman I. must have excavated a number of rock-cut caves and dedicated most of them to the god Śiva with the proverbial zeal of the new

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[1] Names like Viṣṇugōpa, Kumāraviṣṇu, and Siṁhaviṣṇu warrant such a presumption.

[2] This name occurs in the modern prose version of the Tamil *Periyapurāṇam*, while the original poetical version of Śēkkiḻār has the form Pāṭaliputtiram. The late Professor Sundaram Pillai identified it with Tiruppādirippuliyūr, the modern Tiruppāpuliyūr near Cuddalore in the South Arcot District (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, p. 121, note 36). This identification seems unlikely, because Tiruppādirippuliyūr is an ancient place mentioned in the Tamil *Dēvāram* as a place sacred to the god Śiva. Paṭaliputtiram, on the other hand, was the seat of Jaina learning and appears to have been a city not far from Tiruvadi in the South Arcot District. The ruler of Tiruvadi seems to have been a Pallava feudatory with the title Kāḍava.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 290, note 7.

[4] He is called Ninṟa-śīr-Neḍumāṛaṇ, *i.e.*, "Neḍumāṛaṇ of enduring fame." He is said to have fought a battle at Nelvēli and might, therefore, be identical with the Pāṇḍya king Māṛavarman Arikēsarin, who claims to have defeated the army of Vilvēli at Nelvēli (*Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1907-08, Part II, paragraph 28).

[5] Compare with this the following verse of the Trichinopoly Cave inscription :—

गुणभरनामनि राजन्यनेन लिङ्गेन लिङ्गिनि ज्ञानम् ।
प्रथताञ्चिराय लोके विपक्षवृत्तेः परावृत्तम् ॥

"While the king called Guṇabhara is a worshipper of the *linga*, let the knowledge, which has turned back from hostile (*vipakṣa*) conduct, be spread for a long time in the world by this *linga*!" The "hostile conduct" seems to refer to the king who seems to have become a worshipper of Śiva shortly before the inscription was engraved. In fact, it is not unlikely that Guṇabhara had originally been a Jaina and persecuted the Śaivas. In this case, the identity of Guṇabhara with the Pallava king who first persecuted and then patronized the Śaiva saint Tirunāvukkaraśar becomes very probable. This identification is confirmed by the fact that Tiruñānasambandar, whose friend Śiṛuttoṇḍa was apparently a general of the Pallava king Narasiṁhavarman I., was a younger contemporary of Tirunāvukkaraśar. It is worthy of note here that the sister's husband of Tirunāvukkaraśar—named Kalippagaiyār—lost his life in fighting for his sovereign against "the king of the North."

[6] The *Periyapurāṇam* here seems to use the word Kāḍava as a synonym of Pallava. In the case of Aiyaḍigaḷ Kāḍvarkōṇ, who was admittedly a Kāḍava, he is said to have been born in the Pallava family and is called a Pallava. The forms Kāḍuvaṭṭi, Kāḍvaṭṭi and Kāḍupaṭṭi also oecur in epigraphical records (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 25). How they are connected with the word Kāḍava on the one hand and Pallava on the other are questions which await solution by future researches. In the time of Vikrama-Cōḷa there was a chief of Gingee in the South Arcot District who called himself a Kāḍava (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, p. 143). Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva, who subverted the Cōḷa sovereignty during the reign of Rājarāja III. (A. D. 1216 to 1248), was a Kāḍava and called himself a Pallava (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, pp. 164 and 167). The name Guṇadaravīccaram was evidently called after the Pallava king Guṇadara, which is synonymous with Guṇabhara, a surname of Mahēndravarman I. Accordingly, Tirunāvukkaraśar must have been a contemporary of the Pallava king Mahēndravarman I. This conclusion is also warranted by other considerations; see note 5 above.

[7] *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. I, p. 29f.

This statement implies that he helped the former against the latter. Perhaps, the three were allied together against the Pallavas. Though almost nothing is known of the history of the Cēras during this period, it is not unlikely that they combined with the Cōḷas and Pāṇḍyas frequently against the aggressive Pallava, as they seem to have done during the reign of Pulikēśin II.

About the beginning of the 7th century, the Telugu and Kanarese districts of the Madras Presidency, which once belonged to the Pallavas, were annexed, respectively by the Eastern Calukyas of Vēṅgī and the Western Calukyas of Bādāmi.[1] In spite of the repeated boasts of the Pallavas to have conquered the Cōḷas and Pāṇḍyas, no inscriptions of the former have been found further south than Trichinopoly. It has, therefore, to be concluded that the Pallava dominions in the 7th and 8th centuries comprised only the Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam including the modern districts of Chingleput North and South Arcot and the southern portion of Nellore.[2]

At what exact date the Pallava sovereignty came to an end, it is not at present possible to say. But Nandivarman Pallavamalla, mentioned above as having been defeated by the Western Calukya Vikramāditya II., is believed to be the last king of the family, and he seems to have reigned for not less than 50 years.[3] This may take us to the third quarter of the 8th century.

The later history of the Pallavas has now to be noticed. One branch of the family claiming some connection with the Gaṅgas of Mysore occupied a considerable part of Toṇḍai-nāḍu until the close of the 9th century.[4] These have been called Gaṅga-Pallavas in order to distinguish them from the other Pallavas.[5] The former also claimed descent from the *Mahābhārata* hero Aśvatthāman and belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*.[6] Five kings of the family are known, *viz.*, Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman, Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman, Vijaya-Nṛpatuṅgavikramavarman, Vijya-Kampavikramavarman, and Vijaya-Aparājitavikramavarman.[7] Other kings, who, to

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[1] After the eastern campaign of Pulikēśin II, the kingdom of Vēṅgī was established by his younger brother, Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana. That the Ceded districts had been annexed by the Calukyas of Bādāmi is rendered probable by their copper-plates found in them, see page 229 above.

[2] See page 222 above, note 2. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang calls this tract of country Ta-lo-pi-ch'a or Drāviḍa—not Toṇḍai-nāḍu or Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam as it was known in later times. If this is not due to mere accident, it may be that the latter name had not yet been invented or, at least, had not become quite popular.

[3] See page 232 above, note 2.

[4] Though the Paurāṇic genealogy of the Gaṅga-Pallavas is identical with that of the regular Pallavas, the two families have to be kept distinct. No mythical ancestors of the latter are mentioned in the three copper-plates of the family hitherto known. While Nandivarman Pallavamalla boasts of having been descended from kings mentioned in earlier records, such as Skandavarman, Viṣṇugōpa, Vīrakūrca and Siṁhavarman, Nṛpatuṅga claimed Vimala, Koṅkaṇika and other kings for his ancestors (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV., p. 181). Koṅkaṇika is evidently connected with Koṅguṇivarman, the first king of the Gaṅga dynasty. Consequently, the Gaṅga-Pallavas appear to have been related to the Gaṅgas. The exact nature of this relationship must be disclosed by future researches. The names of the Gaṅga-Pallava kings are in most cases preceded by the words *kō vijaya*, which do not occur in connection with those of the regular Pallavas.

[5] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 182. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 181.

[7] The inscriptions of Dantivikramavarman range from the 10th to the 51st year of his reign and have been found at Uttaramallūr and Kūram in the Chingleput District and Guḍimallam and Tiruccāṇūr in the North Arcot District. The epigraphs of Nandivikramavarman, so far copied, are from Śiyamaṅgalam, Viriñcipuram, Tiruvallam and Saduppēri in the North Arcot District and from Kiḻūr, Dalavāṇūr and Perumāṇḍūr in the South Arcot District. They range in date from the 3rd to the 62nd year of his reign. Those of Nṛpatuṅgavikrama have been found at Kāvērippākkam, Āmbūr, Guḍimallam and Tiruvālaṅgāḍu in the North Arcot District; Uttaramallūr and Kūram in the Chingleput District; Kiḻūr and Tiruvadi in the South Arcot District; Lālguḍi in the Trichinopoly District; Tiruccennambūṇḍi in the Tanjore District; and Nārttāmalai in the Pudukkōṭṭai State. The earliest known inscription of his reign is dated in his 7th year and the latest in the 26th year. Kampavarman's records are from Uttaramallūr, Ūttukkāḍu and Kāvāntaṇḍalam in the Chingleput District; and Kāvērippākkam and Śōḷapuram in the North Arcot District and range from the 6th to the 25th year of his reign. Of Aparājita a single inscription has been copied at Tiruttaṇi in the North Arcot District.

judge from their names, must have also belonged to the same family are Vijaya-Narasiṁhavikramavarman,[1] Vijaya-Skandaśiṣyavikramavarman[2] and Vijaya-Īśvaravarman.[3] The history of the family has not yet been completely worked out and, therefore, it is not possible to state what relationship the latter bore to the former.[4] The initial date of the earliest king Dantivikramavarman takes us roughly to A.D. 760, which may overlap with the reign of Nandivarman Pallavamalla.[5] Nṛpatuṅgavikrama was apparently the most powerful of the family, as his inscriptions have been found over a larger extent of country than those of the rest.[6] Aparājitavikrama was evidently the last member of the family.[7] In the battle of Śrīpuṛambiya (Tiruppirambiyam near Kumbakonam) Aparājita defeated the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa.[8] The former was, later on, overcome by the Cōḷa king Āditya and his dominions annexed by the Cōḷas about the end of the ninth century A.D.[9] The Western Gaṅgas of Gaṅgavāḍi in the Mysore State[10] and the Bāṇas[11] were feudatories of the Gaṅga-Pallavas. The Bāṇas seem to have been governing a considerable portion of the North Arcot District, north of the river Palar.[12] One of the chief towns, if not the capital,[13] of the Bāṇas was Tiruvallam in the Guḍiyātam tāluka of that district. A number of kings of this feudatory family are known.[14] But we are not concerned with their history just now. It is enough to remark that the Cōḷa king Parāntaka I., who reigned from A.D. 907[15] to about 948, claims to have uprooted the Bāṇas and to have made over their territory to a Gaṅga feudatory of his.[16]

Side by side with the Gaṅga-Pallavas there was another family which probably

[1] Three records of this king are known, two from Kiḻmuṭṭugūr in the North Arcot District and the third from Baṅgavāḍi in the Mysore State.

[2] The Rāyakōṭa plates belong to his reign; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 49. The village granted by the inscription must have been situated near Udayēndiram in the Guḍiyātam tāluka of the North Arcot District.

[3] Three inscriptions of this king are known, *viz.* two from Hanumantapuram in the Salem District and the third from Hebbiṇi in the Mysore State. They have been edited by Professor Hultzsch (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, pp. 23 to 25).

[4] The localities where the inscriptions of these three kings have been found show that they were probably governing some province between the Gaṅga and Pallava territories. The fact that three of these inscriptions are in Vaṭṭeḻuttu (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 23f.) and three others exhibit affinities with that alphabet (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 177 and 360, and Vol. VII, p. 22) is significant. The Cēras who used the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet must have indirectly had some influence either with these kings themselves or in the country over which they ruled.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 292. It is possible that the reigns of the Gaṅga-Pallava kings overlapped with one other. In this case, the first Gaṅga-Pallava ruler might not be contemporaneous with Nandivarman Pallavamalla.

[6] See note 7 on page 238 above.

[7] The dates of the other kings do not leave any margin for Aparājitavikrama. This is not a sufficient justification for saying that Aparājita was only another name of Nṛpatuṅga. It is just possible that he was the co-regent of Nṛpatuṅga for some time and reigned independently a short period after the death of Nṛpatuṅga. At any rate, unless the identity of Aparājita with Nṛpatuṅga is established by indisputable evidence, we have to presume that they were two distinct kings.

[8] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 87.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 88 f.

[10] Pṛthivīpati I. was the feudatory of Nṛpatuṅga, and a certain Rājāditya, son of Pṛthivīgaṅgaraiyar, was the feudatory of Vijaya-Kampa.

[11] The Bāṇas played a very important part during the period of Gaṅga-Pallava rule. Originally, they seem to have been the enemies of the Gaṅgas. There was, however, an intermarriage between the two. The daughter of Pṛthivīpati I. married a Bāṇa king named Bāṇavidyādhara. The Noḷambas of Noḷambavāḍi were the enemies of the Bāṇas.

[12] The province governed by them was called Perumbāṇappāḍi, which extended from Puṅganūr in the west to Kālahasti in the east. The southern boundary of the province was probably the river Pālār; *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1906-07, Part II, paragraph 45.

[13] They claim to be lords of Paṛivipuri—perhaps identical with Parigi near Hindupur in the Anantapur District. Consequently, their capital was probably Paṛivipuri. Tiruvallam is called Vāṇapuram 'the town of the Bāṇas' in its inscriptions. Consequently, it may be presumed that Tiruvallam was at least one of the chief towns of the Bāṇas; *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. III, p. 89.

[14] See *e.g.* *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III., p. 75.

[15] *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 217. Parāntaka appears to have reigned not less than 41 years.

[16] *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. II, p. 381.

claimed descent from Nandivarman Pallavamalla and which appears to have been reigning in a portion of Toṇḍai-nāḍu and of the Cōḷa country. Dantivarma-Mahārāja of the Triplicane inscription ;[1] Vayiramēgaṉ mentioned in the *Nālāyira-prabandham* as the king of the Toṇḍaiyar ;[2] Teḷḷāṟṟeṟinda Nandippōttaraiyar, whose inscriptions have been found in Conjeeveram and a few villages in the Tanjore and South Arcot districts ;[3] and Nandippōttaraiyar, who belonged to the Pallavatilaka family,[4] are the known names of this series of Pallava kings. The last must have been a contemporary of the Gaṅga-Pallava Nṛpatuṅga mentioned above. Future research must decide what political relationship the Gaṅga-Pallavas bore to this family. Dantiga, ruler of Kāñcī, subjugated by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda III. in or just before A.D. 804,[5] might have been either a Gaṅga-Pallava or a regular descendant of Nandivarman Pallavamalla.

The names of another series of Pallava kings are furnished by the Amarāvatī pillar now preserved in the Madras Museum.[6] Curiously enough, the inscription has to be read from the bottom upwards instead of from the top downwards.[7] Seven kings are mentioned here, and their ancestry is traced to Bharadvāja through Aśvatthāman and Drōṇa. Some of the names occurring in this inscription figure among those of the ancestors of Nandivarman Pallavamalla. The last of them, Siṁhavarman II., is reported to have gone to the mountain Sumēru in order to plant a pillar of victory.[8] He then crossed the Bhāgīrathī (the Gaṅgā river), the Gōdāvarī and Kṛṣṇaverṇā rivers and reached the town of Dhānyaghaṭa, *i.e.* Amarāvatī in the modern Guntur District. There he visited the Buddhist shrine and listened to a discourse on the law. The rest of the inscription is mutilated. The importance of this record for Pallava history is not apparent at present. But the alphabet in which it is engraved is not archaic. As the end is lost, we have no means of ascertaining if it is an original document or a copy of some older record.[9] If it is the former, the kings must belong to a local family, which is mentioned nowhere else.[10]

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1 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 290. 2 *Ibid.*, p. 293.

3 Tillasthānam, Tiruccennambūṇḍi and Śendalai in the Tanjore District and Tiruvadi in the South Arcot District.

4 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 321. 5 *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 292 f. 6 *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. I, pp. 25 to 28.

7 Another inscription which has to be read from the bottom upwards is found at Buḍamanarāyalapāḍu in the Podili division of the Nellore District. It belongs to the reign of the Eastern Calukya king Viṣṇuvardhana-Mahārāja (P. 1 of *Nellore Inscriptions* edited by Messrs. Butterworth and Venugopaul Chetty). A third similar record is No. 393 of the epigraphical collection for 1904 from Mālēpāḍu in the Cuddapa District. It belongs to the reign of the Cōḷa king Vikramāditya Satyāditya. Of the Maṇimaṅgalam inscription of the Cōḷa king Vīrarājēndra I. (*South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. III, p. 67), lines 30 to 35, have to be read upwards from the bottom.

8 Unlike the earlier genealogical inscriptions of the Pallavas, the Amarāvatī pillar mentions as son of king Pallava, a prince, who, to judge from his name, must have flourished in historical times. This is Mahēndravarman, who is probably meant for Mahēndravarman I. In the Kāśākuḍi plates, Aśōkavarman is referred to as the son of king Pallava. Here Aśōkavarman is evidently a reminiscence of the Maurya emperor Aśōka who lived long before the Pallavas. The fact that a historical name like that of Mahēndravarman is given in the Amarāvatī pillar to the son of the mythical king Pallava may be taken by itself to show that the inscription belongs to a period much later than that of the first king who bore the name.

9 The names mentioned are those of ancient kings. Consequently the Amarāvatī inscription might only be a copy of an older document. The Udayēndiram plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla contain a similar record. They were apparently copied at a later time from the original document. The events described in them must have taken place at a period much earlier than that warranted by the alphabet in which the plates are engraved. Another instance is furnished by some of the stone inscriptions of the Bāṇas found at Tiruvallam which are admittedly copies of older records (*South-Ind. Inscrs*, Vol. III, Nos. 43, 44, 45, 47 and 48).

10 On the first sign of weakness of the Cōḷas of Tanjore, about the beginning of the 12th century A.D., several local families came into prominence claiming relationship with the Pallavas of Kāñcīpuram and the Cōḷas of Uṛaiyur. It may be that Siṁhavarman II. belonged to that period, if the Amarāvatī inscription is an original document. Neither he nor any of his ancestors is, however, known from other records hitherto accessible.

It has already been mentioned that the Ceded districts once formed part of the Pallava dominions. Soon after the disruption of Pallava sovereignty, a separate province, known as the Noḻambavāḍi 32,000, came into existence. It comprised the greater portion of the modern Bellary District and the northern and north-eastern portions of Mysore.[1] The capital of the province was at first apparently Hēmāvati in the Anantapur District, called Peñjeru or Heñjeru in ancient times.[2] The Noḻambas claim to belong to the Īśvara-vaṁśa and were descended from Triṇayana-Pallava,[3] ruler of Kāñcī, perhaps identical with the king of the same name, who was defeated by the early Calukya king Vijayāditya, according to later tradition.[4] The earliest records of the family belong to the ninth century A.D.[5] At Dharmapuri in the Salem District has been found a stone inscription of Mahēndrādhirāja Noḻamba, who boasts of having destroyed the Bāṇa family.[6] The Noḻambas also figure in Tamil records as committing cattle raids during the Gaṅga-Pallava period. Two inscribed stones found at Āmbūr in the North Arcot District refer to such raids.[7] A later record found near Vellore mentions a chief named Tribhuvanadhīra-Nuḻamba *alias* Pallava-Murāri.[8] These references show how far the influence of the Noḻambas extended beyond Noḻambavāḍi. The Western Gaṅga Mārasiṁha II. (A.D. 963-4 to 974) boasts of having destroyed the Noḻambas.[9] The Cōḻa king Rājarāja I. (A.D. 985 to at least 1013) also conquered Nuḻambapāḍi.[10] Kampili in the Bellary District seems to have been the capital of this province during the period of rule of the Calukyas of Kalyāṇi.[11] Epigraphical references may be adduced to show that the Pallavas continued in that part of the country and that they exercised some sort of power as late as the 13th century A.D.[12]

The Pallavas of the Tamil country seem to have taken service under the Cōḻas after the Gaṅga-Pallavas were conquered by Āditya about the end of the 9th century A.D.[13] Karuṇākara-Toṇḍaimāṉ, who, according to the Tamil poem *Kaliṅgattu-Paraṇi* led the expedition against Kaliṅga during the reign of Kulōttuṅga I. (A.D. 1070 to about A.D. 1118), was a Pallava and was the lord of Vaṇḍai, *i.e.* Vaṇḍalūr in the Chingleput District.[14] Among the vassals of Vikrama-Cōḻa mentioned in the *Vikkirama-Śōḻaṉ-ulā*, the Toṇḍaimāṉ figures first.[15] In the war of Pāṇḍya succession, which took place in the 12th century A.D., the Toṇḍaimāṉ played a very important part and was the ally of Kulaśēkhara, one of the claimants.[16]

1 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 318.
2 Mr. Rice's *Mysore*, Vol. I, p. 307.
3 *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. XII, Si. 28.
4 *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. I, p. 50.
5 *Ep. Carn*, Vol. XII, Introduction, p. 5.
6 *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1900-1, paragraph 11.
7 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 182 f. In the reign of the Gaṅga-Pallava king Nṛpatuṅga, the Noḻambas invaded Āmaiyūr (the ancient name of Āmbūr) twice and seized cattle. They were driven back by two officers of the Gaṅga king.
8 *Ibid.*, p. 83.
9 He bore the title *Noḻambakulāntakadēva*; *ibid.* Vol. V. p. 178.
10 *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. III, p. 5.
11 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 214.
12 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 333.
13 See page 239 above.
14 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 337.
15 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 143.
16 *Mahāvaṁsa*, Chapter LXXVII, pp. 248 and 249

From the account of this war given in the *Mahāvaṁsa*, it appears that the dominions of the Toṇḍaimāṉ could not have been very far from the Pāṇḍya country.[1] In a Tanjore inscription belonging to a later period, the name Toṇḍaimāṉ is applied to a local chief named Sāmantanārāyaṇa, who granted to Brāhmaṇas a portion of the village of Karundiṭṭaigudi,[2] the modern Karattaṭṭāṅguḍi. Thus, the name Toṇḍaimāṉ actually travelled from the Pallava into the Cōḷa country. There is, therefore, reason to suppose that the Toṇḍaimāṉ of Pudukkōṭṭai, who bears the title Pallava Raja,[3] is descended from the Pallavas, who form the subject of this paper.

In the Telugu country, inscriptions have been found of local chiefs tracing their ancestry to the mythical king Triṇayana-Pallava, whose name figures also as Mukkaṇṭi-Kāḍuveṭṭi.[4] These chiefs claim to belong to the Bhāradvāja-*gōtra* and to have the bull for their crest. They were also lords of Kāñcīpura and devotees of the goddess Kāmakōṭyambikā, *i.e.* the Kāmākṣī temple at Conjeeveram. Inscriptions of these chiefs have been found in the Cuddapah, Kurnool and Nellore districts and reach down to the 13th century.[5] Thus, though the Pallavas ceased to be the ruling power about the middle of the 8th century A.D., the memory of their dominion was kept up in the Kanarese, Telugu, and Tamil countries down to a very late period.

We have now to examine if there are any Pallavas in our midst beyond the royal family of Pudukkōṭṭai. The Pallavas are believed to be identical with the Kurumbas, of whom the Kurumbar of the Tamil country and the Kurubas of the Kanarese districts and of the Mysore State may be taken as the living representatives.[6] The

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[1] We are told that after gathering his troops in the mountains of Toṇḍamāna, Kulaśēkhara regained the stronghold of Maṅgala—perhaps identical with Tirumaṅgalam in the Madura District. Again, the Singhalese general is said to have fought against the relations of Toṇḍamāna sometime before capturing Sīvaliputtūr—the modern Śrīvillipputtūr in the Tinnevelly district.

[2] *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. II, p. 113.

[3] Sir Walter Elliot's *Coins of Southern India*, p. 43.

[4] *Inscriptions of the Nellore District*, edited by Messrs. Butterworth and Venugopaul Chetty, D. 43, 69; KR. 61, 62 and 63; and KG. 24; see also the *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1907-08, Part II, paragraph 72. The Kōṭa chiefs claim to have obtained the district of "six-thousand villages on the southern bank of the Kṛṣṇaverṇā river" through the favour of the glorious Triṇayana-Pallava (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 155). The Velanāṇḍu chief Malla I. is reported to have "entered into an alliance with Triṇētra-Pallava, started for the conquest of the Dekhan, obtained possession of the Ṣaṭsahasra country and took up his residence at Dhanadapura" (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 34). Perhaps the Triṇayana-Pallava and Triṇētra-Pallava here mentioned were different from and much later than the Trilōcana-Pallava overcome by the ancient Calukya king Vijayāditya. When the Cōḷa power began to show signs of weakness and when, consequently, some of the local families became possessed of sufficient strength to assert their individuality, they found it convenient to trace their ancestry to the ancient Cōḷa king Karikāla or to the ancient Pallava king Triṇayana-Pallava. The family of Telugu-Cōḍas with its numberless ramifications claimed descent from the Cōḷas of Uṟaiyūr as opposed to the Cōḷas of Tanjore who were then ruling the country. A few chiefs claiming Pallava ancestry are mentioned in the *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1905-06, Part II, paragraph 5. Families like the Kōṭas and Velanāṇḍu chiefs who openly declared their Śūdra origin, could not very well be connected by descent with either of these two. They were, therefore, obliged to claim some political relationship with the Pallavas.

[5] *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1905-06, Part II, paragraph 7.

[6] See p. 221 above, note 4. In Mr. Crole's *Manual of the Chingleput District* the identity of the Kurumbars with the Pallavas is assumed. They are further identified with the modern Paḻḻis and Vanniyars. In his *Coins of Southern India*, p. 37, Sir Walter Elliot says that the Kurumbars "were attacked by an army under a general named Adoṇḍai or Toṇḍaimāṉ, the son (illegitimate according to some) or brother of the ruler of Chōḻamaṇḍalam. He encountered an obstinate resistance, but after sustaining some reverses, subdued the whole province, and incorporated it with the Chōḻa territories changing the name to Toṇḍamaṇḍalam." At the present day, the Kurumbars are scattered through the districts of Malabar, Coimbatore, Cuddapah, Bellary, Tanjore, Trichinopoly and the Nilgiris and the Mysore and Pudukkōṭṭai states. The Kurumbar of the North Arcot District are foreigners from Mysore, the remnants probably of those who after peopling the country round Conjeeveram were ousted by the Cōḷas.

kings of the Vijayanagara dynasty are also supposed to have been Kurubas.[1] In one of the inscriptions of the Tanjore temple belonging to the 11th century, a certain Vēḷāṉ Ādittaṉ is called Pirāntaka-Pallavaraiyaṉ, meaning "the chief of the Pallavas of Parāntaka." [2] Śēkkiḻār, the author of the Tamil *Periyapurāṇam*, was a Veḷḷāḷa by caste and got from his patron, the Cōḷa king Anapāya, the title Uttamaśōḻa-Pallavarāyaṉ, meaning "the chief of the Pallavas of Uttamaśōḻa." Uttamaśōḻa[3] and Parāntaka[4] are titles of Cōḷa kings and the word *Pallava* seems to be used in both of the titles as an equivalent of *Veḷḷāḷa*, or the caste of agriculturists to which both of them belonged.[5] In the Telugu country, too, some of the Reḍḍis who belonged to the fourth or cultivating caste, called themselves *Pallava-Triṇētra* and *Pallavāditya*.[6] Sir Walter Elliot has told us that Pallavarāja is one of the thirty *gōtras* of the true Tamil-speaking Veḷḷāḷas of Madura, Tanjore and Arcot. [7] It is borne by the Cōḷa Veḷḷāḷas inhabiting the valley of the Kāvērī, in Tanjore, who lay claim to the first rank. All these facts taken together seem to show that there was some sort of connection between the cultivating caste and the Pallavas in the Tamil as well as in the Telugu country. The available evidence is, however, not sufficient to formulate the nature of this connection. But it may tentatively be supposed that some of the Pallavas settled down as cultivators soon after all traces of their sovereignty disappeared. The other sections of the agricultural class were probably proud of their association and considered it an honour to be looked upon as Pallavas.

V. VENKAYYA.

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[1] In his *Coins of Southern India*, p. 90, Sir Walter Elliot says: "However uncertain the source of the other families may be, the correctness of that assigned to the earliest Vijayanagara dynasty cannot be questioned, for it has always been known as the Kuruba line."

[2] *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. II, p. 140.

[3] This was the surname first of Madhurāntaka, son of Gaṇḍarāditya and then of Rājarāja's son Rājēndra-Cōḷa I. It must also have been borne by Anapāya.

[4] There seem to have been several Cōḷa kings bearing this name. Two of them are well known to students of Cōḷa history, *viz.*, Parāntaka I., son of Āditya I. and Parāntaka II., father of Rājarāja I. There seem to have been several other Cōḷa princes who bore the name.

[5] Similar names are: Mummaḍi-Śōḷa-Nirttamārāyaṉ (1), Pañcavaṉmādēvi-Nāḍagamayyaṉ (2), Nittavinōda-Vādyamārāyaṉ (3), Ariñjigai-Kāmarappēraiyaṉ (4), Mummaḍi-Śōḷa-Kaḍigaimārāyaṉ (5), Mummaḍi-Śōḷa Toṅgaṟpēraiyaṉ (6), Śembiyaṉ-Peruṅgāvidi (7), Rājarāja-Perunāviśaṉ (8), Śembiyaṉ-Koṟṟapperuṅgaṇi (9), Rājarāja-Gaṇitādhirājaṉ (10), Pañcavaṉ-Maṅgalappēraiyaṉ (11), Vīra-Śōḷa-Perundayyāṉ (12), Kēraḷāntaka-Perundayyāṉ (13), Kṣatriyaśikhāmaṇi-Peruṅgaṇṇāṉ (14), Rājarāja-Perundaccaṉ (15), Kṣatriyaśikhāmaṇi-Perundaṭṭāṉ (16), Mummaḍi-Śōḷa-Brahmamārāyaṉ (17), and Rājēndra-Śōḷa-Brahmamārāyaṉ (18). In the foregoing eighteen surnames or titles, the first portion invariably denotes the name of a king and the second portion gives the profession or caste to which the individual belonged, with a complimentary epithet, the whole title meaning "the great dancing-master, dramatist, carpenter, goldsmith, brazier, Brāhmaṇa, etc., of the king," whose name is prefixed to the title.

[6] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 286, and Vol. VIII, pp. 9 and 10; *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1899-00, paragraph 57.

[7] *Coins of Southern India*, p. 42.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL REPORTS PUBLISHED UNDER OFFICIAL AUTHORITY.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
INDIA*—		
Illustrations of ancient buildings in Kashmir.	H. H. Cole, Lieutenant, R.E., Superintendent, Archæological Survey, North-Western Provinces.	W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, London, S. W., 1869.
Report in connection with operations in the N.-W. Provinces and the Punjab, etc., for 1869-70.	Lieutenant H. H. Cole .	1870.
Four reports made during the years 1862-63-64-65, Volume I. (C. S.).	A. Cunningham, Director-General, Archæological Survey of India.	Government Central Press, Simla, 1871.
Four reports made during the years 1862-63-64-65, Volume II. (C. S.)	Ditto . .	Ditto.
Report for the year 1871-72, Volume III. (C. S.)	Ditto . .	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1873.
Illustrations of buildings near Muttra and Agra, showing the mixed Hindu-Mahomedan style of Upper India.	H. H. Cole, Lieutenant, R.E., late Superintendent, Archæological Survey, North-Western Provinces.	W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, London, S.W., 1873.
"Tree and Serpent Worship" from the sculptures of the Buddhist Topes at Sanchi and Amaravati.	James Fergusson, D.C.L., F.R.S.	Ditto.
Report for the year 1871-72, Delhi and Agra, Volume IV. (C. S.)	J. D. Beglar and A. C. L. Carlleyle, Assistants, Archæological Survey of India.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1874.

NOTE.—The continued series of reports by A. Cunningham (Director-General of the Archæological Survey of India), which extend over the years 1862-1884 inclusive, are marked (C. S.) in this list.

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Report of the first season's operations in the Belgâm and Kaladgi districts. (N. I. S.)	J. Burgess, Archæological Surveyor and Reporter to Government.	W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, London, S.W., 1874.
The Antiquities of Orissa, Volume I.	Rájendralála Mitra . .	Wyman & Co., Calcutta, 1875.
Report for the year 1872-73, Volume V. (C. S.)	A. Cunningham, Director-General, Archæological Survey of India.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1875.
Report on the antiquities of Kâthiâwâḍ and Kachh. (N. I. S.)	J. Burgess, Archæological Surveyor and Reporter to Government, Western India.	W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, London, S.W., 1876.
Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum. Volume I, Inscriptions of Asoka.	A. Cunningham, Director-General, Archæological Survey of India.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1877.
The Rock Temples of Elura or Verul.	J. Burgess . . .	1877.
Report on the antiquities in the Bidar and Aurangabad districts. (N. I. S.)	J. Burgess, Archæological Surveyor and Reporter to Government, Western India.	W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, London, S.W., 1878.
Report of a tour in Eastern Rajputana in 1871-72; and 1872-73, Volume VI. (C. S.)	A. C. L. Carlleyle, Assistant, Archæological Survey.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1878.
Report of a tour in Bundelkhand and Malwa, 1871-72; and in the Central Provinces, 1873-74, Volume VII. (C. S.)	J. D. Beglar, Assistant, Archæological Survey.	Ditto.
Report of a tour through the Bengal Provinces of Patna, Gaya, Mongir, and Bhagalpur; The Santal Parganas, Manbhum, Singhbhum, and Birbhum, Bankura, Raniganj, Bardwan and Hughli in 1872-73, Volume VIII. (C. S.)	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Pali Sanskrit, and old Canarese Inscriptions from the Bombay Presidency and parts of the Madras Presidency and Maisur, arranged and explained.	J. F. Fleet, Bombay Civil Service, and J. Burgess, Archæological Surveyor, Western India.	G. E. Eyre and W. Spottiswoode, London, 1878.
The Stūpa of Bharhut; a Buddhist monument ornamented with numerous sculptures, illustrative of Buddhist legend and history in the third century B. C.	A. Cunningham, Director-General, Archæological Survey of India.	W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, London, S.W., 1879.

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Report of tours in Central Doab and Gorakhpur in 1874-75 and 1875-76, Volume XII. (C. S.)	A. C. L. Carlleyle, 1st Assistant, Archæological Survey.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1879.
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Report of tours in Bundelkhand and Malwa in 1874-75 and 1876-77, Volume X. (C. S.)	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1880.
Report of tours in the Gangetic Provinces from Badaon to Bihar in 1875-76 and 1877-78, Volume XI. (C. S.)	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Report on the Amarávati tope and excavations on its site in 1877.	R. Sewell, Madras Civil Service.	G. E. Eyre and W. Spottiswoode, London, 1880.
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The Cave Temples of India.	J. Fergusson and J. Burgess	W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, London, S.W., 1880.
First Report of the Curator of Ancient Monuments in India for the year 1881-82.	H. H. Cole, Curator of Ancient Monuments in India.	Government Central Branch Press, Simla, 1882.
Report of tours in the South-Eastern Provinces in 1874-75 and 1875-76, Volume XIII. (C. S.)	J. D. Beglar, Assistant, Archæological Survey.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1882.
Report of a tour in the Punjab in 1878-79, Volume XIV. (C. S.)	A. Cunningham, Director-General, Archæological Survey of India.	Ditto.
Report of a tour in Bihar and Bengal in 1879-80 from Patna to Sunargaon, Volume XV. (C. S.)	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras. (N. I. S.)	R. Sewell, Madras Civil Service.	Government Press, Madras, 1882.
Preliminary reports by Curator, Ancient Monuments in India.	H. H. Cole, Curator of Ancient Monuments in India.	Government Central Branch Press, Simla, 1881 to 1883.
(*a*) Madras Presidency—		
The Seven Pagodas . .	Ditto . . .	Ditto.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
INDIA—*contd.*		
(*a*) Madras Presidency—*contd.*		
Velur	H. H. Cole, Curator of Ancient Monuments in India.	Government Central Branch Press, Simla, 1881 to 1883.
Trichinopoly	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Srirangam	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Madura	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Tanjore	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Kombakonam . . .	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Chillambaram . . .	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Conjeveram . . .	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Bijanagar	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
(*b*) Bombay Presidency—		
Ahmedabad	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Poona	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Karli	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Ambarnath	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Elephanta	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
(*c*) Bijapur	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
(*d*) Rajputana—		
Mount Abu	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Ajmir	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Jaipur	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Ulwar	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
(*e*) H. H. the Nizam's Territory—		
Kalburgan . . .	Ditto . .	Ditto.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
INDIA—*contd.*		
(*f*) Punjab—		
(Memorandum on Ancient Monuments in Eusafzai, with a description of the explorations undertaken from the 4th February to the 16th April 1883, and suggestions for the disposal of the sculptures.)	H. H. Cole, Curator of Ancient Monuments in India.	Government Central Branch Press, Simla, 1881 to 1883.
Second Report of the Curator of Ancient Monuments in India for the year 1882-83.	Ditto . .	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1883.
Report on the Buddhist Cave Temples and their inscriptions. (N. I. S.)	J. Burgess, Archæological Surveyor and Reporter to Government for Western and Southern India.	Ballantyne, Hanson & Co., Edinburgh and London, 1883.
Reports of tours in North and South Bihar in 1880-81, Volume XVI. (C. S.)	A. Cunningham, Director-General, Archæological Survey of India, and H. B. W. Garrick, Assistant Archæological Survey.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1883.
Preservation of National Monuments—Fortress Gwalior.	J. B. Keith, Superintending Monumental Preservation.	Ditto.
Catalogue and Hand-book of the Archæological Collections in the Indian Museum, Part I—Asoka and Indo-Scythian Galleries.	J. Anderson, Superintendent, Indian Museum.	Ditto.
Ditto ditto, Part II—Gupta and Inscription Galleries.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
Report of a tour in Gorakpur district in 1875-76 and 1876-77, Volume XVIII. (C. S.)	A. C. L. Carlleyle, 1st Assistant, Archæological Survey.	Ditto.
Report on the Elura cave temples and the other Brahmanical and Jaina caves in Western India. (N. I. S.)	J. Burgess, Archæological Surveyor and Reporter to Government for Western and Southern India.	Ballantyne, Hanson & Co., Edinburgh and London, 1883.
Report of a tour in the Central Provinces and Lower Gangetic Doab in 1881-82, Volume XVII. (C. S.)	A. Cunningham, Director-General, Archæological Survey of India.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1884.
Lists of Inscriptions and Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India. (N. I. S.)	R. Sewell, Madras Civil Service.	Government Press, Madras, 1884.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
INDIA—*contd.*		
Preservation of National Monuments, India.	H. H. Cole, Curator of Ancient Monuments in India.	Plates prepared in Paris, 1884-85.
(*a*) Agra and Gwalior . .	Ditto . .	Ditto.
(*b*) Golden temple at Amritsar, Punjab.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
(*c*) Delhi	Ditto . .	Ditto.
(*d*) Græco-Buddhist sculptures from Yusufzai.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
(*e*) Great temple to Siva and his consort at Madura.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
(*f*) Meywar	Ditto . .	Ditto.
(*g*) Buildings of the Punjab .	Ditto . .	Ditto.
(*h*) Great Buddhist Tope at Sanchi.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
(*i*) Tomb of Jahangir at Shahdara near Lahore.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
(*j*) The temples at Trichinopoly	Ditto . .	Ditto.
Third Report of the Curator of Ancient Monuments in India for the year 1883-84.	Ditto . .	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1885.
Report of a tour through Bihar, Central India, Peshawar, and Yusufzai, during 1881-82, Vol. XIX. (C. S.)	H. B. W. Garrick, Assistant, Archæological Survey.	Ditto.
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Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
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Ditto for the year ending 30th June 1900.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1900.
Ditto for the year ending 30th June 1901.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1901.
Ditto for the year ending 30th June 1902.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1902.
Ditto for the year ending 30th June 1903.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1903.
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Bhagalpur Division . .	......	Ditto.
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Burdwan Division . . .	......	Ditto.
Patna Division . . .	......	Ditto.
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Plates illustrating the Report on the antiquities in the district of Lalitpur, North-Western Provinces.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
PUNJAB—		
Objects of Antiquarian interest in the Punjab and its dependencies compiled from statements furnished by the several Deputy Commissioners, His Highness the Maharajah of Kashmir, and the Superintendents, Cis-Sutlej, Bahawalpur, and Chamba States.	......	Public Works Department Press, Lahore, 1875.
Descriptive List of the Principal Buddhist Sculptures in the Lahore Museum.	A. Cunningham, Director-General, Archæological Survey.	......
Descriptive List of Photographic Negatives of Buddhist Sculptures in the Lahore Central Museum.	J. L. Kipling, Curator .	1889.
Report of the Punjab Circle of the Archæological Survey, 1888-89.	C. J. Rodgers, Archæological Surveyor.	W. Ball & Co., Lahore, 1891.
List of inscriptions in the Lahore Museum.	Dr. M. A. Stein . .	1899.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
PUNJAB—*concld.*		
Revised list of objects of Archæological interest in the Punjab.	C. J. Rodgers, Archæological Surveyor.	Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta.
Report of the Archæological Survey, Punjab Circle, for the period from 1st January to 30th June 1901.	Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, Archæological Surveyor, Punjab.	Lahore Caxton Printing Works, 1901.
Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Surveyor, Punjab Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1902.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1902.
Ditto for the year ending 31st March 1903.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1903.
Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Punjab and United Provinces Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1904.	Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, Superintendent, Archæological Survey.	Ditto, 1904.
Ditto for the year ending 31st March 1905.	Ditto . .	Economical Press, Lahore, 1905.
Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent of the Archæological Survey, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1906.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1906.
Ditto for the year ending 31st March 1907.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1907.
Ditto for the year ending 31st March 1908.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1908.
N.-W. F. PROVINCE—		
Report on the explorations of the Buddhist ruins at Jamalgarhi during the months of March and April 1873. (Supplement to the Punjab Government Gazette of 12th February 1874.)	Lieut. A. Crompton, R.E. .	1874.
Report on the explorations of the Buddhist ruins near Kharkai during the months of March and April 1874. (Supplement to the Punjab Government Gazette of 11th June 1874.)	Lieut. Skene Grant, R.E.	1874.
Report on the exploration of the Buddhist ruins at Takht-i-Bai Yusafzai, during the months of January, February, March and April 1871. (Supplement to the Punjab Government Gazette of 6th August 1874.)	Sergeant F. H. Wilcher, R.E.	1874.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
N.-W. F. PROVINCE—*concld.*		
Report on the explorations at mound Shahji-ka-dheri near Peshawar. (Supplement to the Punjab Government Gazette of 18th November 1875.)	Lieut. C. A. Crompton, R.E.	1875.
Report on the explorations at Taikal near Peshawar. (Supplement to the Punjab Government Gazette of 18th November 1875 and of 30th March 1876.)	Lieut. P. Haslett, R.E. .	1876.
Reports of Buddhist explorations in the Peshawar District by the 10th Company of Sappers and Miners.	Lieut. C. Maxwell, R.E. .	Public Works Department, Punjab, 1882.
Memorandum on excavations at Sikri, Yusafzai.	Capt. H. A. Deane, Assistant Commissioner.	Punjab Government Press, Lahore, 1889.
Detailed report of an Archæological tour with the Buner Field Force.	Dr. M. A. Stein, Ph.D., Principal, Oriental College, Lahore.	Ditto, 1898.
Report of Archæological Survey work in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan for the period from January 2nd, 1904, to March 31st, 1905.	M. A. Stein, Ph.D., Inspector General of Education and Archæological Surveyor, North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan.	Government Press, North-West Frontier Province, 1905.
Annual report of the Archæological Survey of India, Frontier Circle, for 1906-07.	Dr. D. B. Spooner, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Frontier Circle.	Ditto, 1907.
Ditto for 1907-08 . .	Ditto . .	Commercial Press, Peshawar, 1908.
BURMA—		
List of objects of antiquarian interest in British Burma.	Dr. E. Forchhammer, Govenrment Archæologist, Burma.	Government Press, Burma, 1880.
Notes on the early History and Geography of British Burma—		
I. The Shwe Dagon Pagoda	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1883.
II. The first Buddhist Mission to Suvarnabhumi.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1884.
List of objects of Antiquarian and Archæological interest in British Burma.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
Reports on Archæological work done in Burma during the years 1879-89. (Being a Review, dated 18th June 1889.)	Dr. E. Forchhammer . .	1889.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
BURMA—*contd.*		
The Po U Daung inscription, erected by King Sinbyuyin in 1774 A.D.	Taw Sein Ko, Government Translator, Burma.	Government Press, Burma, 1881.
List of objects of antiquarian interest in Arakan.	Dr. E. Forchhammer, Government Archæologist, Burma.	Ditto.
List of objects of antiquarian interest in Burma.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1892.
Inscription of Pagan, Pinya, and Ava (deciphered from the ink impressions found among the papers of the late Dr. Forchhammer).	Taw Sein Ko, Government Translator, Burma.	Ditto.
Report on the Antiquities of Arakan.	Dr. E. Forchhammer, Government Archæologist, Burma.	Ditto.
Report on the Kyaukku Temple at Pagan.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
The Kalyani Inscriptions . .	Taw Sein Ko, Government Translator, Burma.	Ditto.
Memorandum of a tour in parts of the Amherst, Shwegyin, and Pegu Districts.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
Note on a tour in Burma in March and April 1892.	F. O. Oertel, Assistant Engineer on special duty, Public Works Department, North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	Ditto, 1893.
Notes on an Archæological tour through Ramannadesa. (The Talaing country of Burma.)	Taw Sein Ko, Government Translator, Burma.	Reprinted from the *Indian Antiquary* by the Educational Society's Steam Press, Bombay, 1893.
A preliminary study of the Po U Daung Inscription of Sinbyuyin, 1774 A.D.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
A preliminary study of the Kalyani Inscriptions.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
Notes on antiquities in Ramannadesa. (The Talaing country of Burma.)	Lieutenant-Colonel R. C. Temple, late President, Rangoon Municipality, Burma.	Ditto, 1894.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
BURMA—*concld.*		
Some remarks on the Kalyani Inscriptions.	Taw Sein Ko, Government Translator, Burma.	Reprinted from the *Indian Antiquary* by the Educational Society's Steam Press, Bombay, 1894.
Inscriptions copied from the stones collected by King Bodawpaya and placed near the Arakan Pagoda, Mandalay.	Maung Tun Nyein, Officiating Government Translator, Burma.	Government Press, Burma, 1897.
Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava. Translation with notes.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1899.
Inscriptions collected in Upper Burma.	Taw Sein Ko, Government Archæologist, Burma.	Ditto, 1900—1903.
Index, Inscriptionum B. Birmanicarum, Vol. I.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1900.
List of objects of antiquarian and archæological interest in Upper Burma.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1901.
List of Pagodas at Pagan under the custody of Government.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
Report on archæological work in Burma for the year 1901-02.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1902.
Ditto, for the year 1902-03 .	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1903.
Ditto, for the year 1903-04 .	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1904.
Ditto, for the year 1904-05 .	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1905.
Report of the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Burma, for the year ending 31st March 1906.	Taw Sein Ko, Superintendent, Archæological Survey.	Ditto, 1906.
Ditto, for the year ending 31st March 1907.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1907.
Ditto, for the year ending 31st March 1908.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1908.
MYSORE AND COORG—		
Mysore Inscriptions . . .	L. Rice, Director of Public Instruction.	Mysore Government Press, 1879.
Coorg Inscriptions . .	L. Rice, Secretary to Government.	Ditto, 1886.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
MYSORE AND COORG—*concld.*		
Inscriptions at Sravana Belgola, a chief seat of the Jains (Mysore).	L. Rice, Director of Archæological Researches and Secretary to Government, Mysore.	Mysore Government Press, 1889.
Epigraphia Carnatica—Inscriptions in the Mysore District, Part I.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1894.
Ditto, Part II	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1898.
Ditto, Inscriptions in the Kadur District.	L. Rice, Director of Archæological Researches.	Ditto, 1901.
Ditto, Inscriptions in the Hassan District in 2 sections.	Ditto . .	Basel Mission Press, Mangalore, 1902.
Ditto, Inscriptions in the Simoga District, Parts I and II.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1902.
Ditto, Inscriptions in the Chitaldrug district.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1903.
Inscriptions at Tumkur . .	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1904.
Inscriptions at Kolar . . .	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1905.
ASSAM—		
Report on the progress of historical research in Assam.	E. A. Gait, I.C.S., Honorary Director of Ethnography in Assam.	Assam Secretariat Printing Office, Shillong, 1897.
List of archæological remains in the Province of Assam.	......	Ditto, 1902.

List of Public Libraries, etc., to which copies of the Director General's Annual Report, Part II, are regularly supplied.

1.—COUNTRIES OUTSIDE INDIA.

UNITED KINGDOM.

British Museum Library, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, London.

Bodleian Library, Oxford.

London University Library, Imperial Institute, London, S.W.

Cambridge University Library, Cambridge.

Edinburgh „ „ Edinburgh.

Glasgow „ „ Glasgow.

Aberdeen „ „ Aberdeen.

Trinity College Library, Dublin.

Folklore Society, 11, Old Square Lincoln's Inn, London, W.C.

National Art Library, South Kensington Museum, London.

Royal Institute of British Architects, 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, London, W.

Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.

The Royal „ Windsor Castle, Berks.

Royal Society, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London.

Royal Society, Edinburgh.

Royal Irish Academy, 19, Dawson Street, Dublin.

National Library of Ireland, Leinster House, Kildare Street, Dublin.

Royal Asiatic Society, 22, Albermarle Street, London.

Society of Antiquaries of London, Burlington House, Piccadilly, W.

Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, Scotland.

Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, National Museum of Antiquities, Queen Street, Edinburgh.

Imperial Institute, London.

Indian Institute, Oxford.

Society for Protection of Ancient Buildings, 10, Buckingham Street, Adelphi, W.C.

The Royal Academy of Arts, Burlington House, London.

Society for the Pomotion of Hellenic Studies, London.

Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 3, Hanover Street, W. London.

FRANCE.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Institute de France, Paris.

Musée Guimet, 7, Place d'Iena, Paris.

1.—COUNTRIES OUTSIDE INDIA—*contd.*

GERMANY.

Bibliothek der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Halle (Saale), Germany.

Royal Museum for Ethnology, Berlin.

Königliche Gesell Schaft der Wissenschaftēn zo Göttingen, Göttingen.

Kgl. Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften W. 35. Pots damerstrasse 120. Berlin.

AUSTRIA.

Imperial Academy of Sciences, Vienna.

Hungarian Academy, Buda-Pesth.

ITALY.

Biblioteca Nazionale, Rome.

R. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze.

The Società Asiatica Italiana, Firenze.

British School at Rome.

American School of Classical Studies at Rome.

OTHER COUNTRIES IN EUROPE.

Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Holland.

Royal Institute of Netherlands, India, The Hague, Holland.

Imperial Academy of Sciences (for the Asiatic Museum), St. Petersburg, Russia.

Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark.

National Museum, Copenhagen, Denmark.

Académie Royale d'Archéologie de Belgique, Anvers.

University Library, Upsala, Sweden.

,, ,, Christiania, Norway.

British School at Athens, Greece.

La Société Archéologique d'Athènes, Athens, Greece.

AMERICA.

American Oriental Society, 235, Bishop Street, New Haven, Conn, U.S.A.

Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., U. S. A.

Secretary, National Museum, Washington, U. S. A.

Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.

BRITISH COLONIES.

The Museum, Canterbury, New Zealand.

Literary and Historical Society, Quebec, Canada.

Melbourne Library, Melbourne.

University Library, Sydney, New South Wales.

Victoria Public Library, Perth, Western Australia.

Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, Colombo.

Straits Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, Singapore.

North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Shanghai.

Museum of Arabic Art, Cairo, Egypt.

I.—COUNTRIES OUTSIDE INDIA—*concld.*

FOREIGN COLONIES.

Directeur del'Ecole française d'extrême Orient, Hanoi.

Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Batavia.

Institut Françaisd' Archéologie Orientale du Caire, Cairo, Egypt.

Ethnological Survey for the Philippine Islands, Department of Interior, Manila.

II.—INDIA.

(1) IMPERIAL.

Imperial Library, Calcutta.

Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Press Room, Calcutta and Simla.

(2) PROVINCIAL.

MADRAS.

Secretariat Library, Fort St. George.

University ,, Madras.

Public ,, ,,

Presidency College ,,

School of Art, ,,

Government Central Museum, Madras.

Christian College Library ,,

BOMBAY.

Secretariat Library, Bombay.

University ,, ,,

Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Town Hall, Bombay.

School of Art, Bombay.

The College of Science, Poona.

BENGAL.

Secretariat Library, Writers' Buildings, Calcutta.

University Library, the Senate House, Calcutta.

Presidency College Library, 1, College Square, Calcutta.

Sanskrit College Library, 1, College Square, Calcutta.

Asiatic Society of Bengal, 57, Park Street, Calcutta.

UNITED PROVINCES.

Secretariat Library, P. W. D., Allahabad.

University ,, Allahabad.

Public Library, Allahabad.

Provincial Museum Library, Lucknow.

Sanskrit College, Benares.

Thomason College, Roorkee.

Archæological Museum, Mutha.

II.—INDIA—*concld.*

PUNJAB.

Secretariat Library, Public Works Department, Lahore.

Punjab Public Library, Lahore.

Museum Library, Lahore.

University Library, Lahore.

Government College Library, Lahore.

Delhi Museum and Institute, Delhi.

NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE.

Secretariat Library, Peshawar.

Museum Library, Peshawar.

BURMA.

Secretariat Library, Rangoon.

The Bernard Free Library, Rangoon.

The Phayre Museum, Rangoon.

CENTRAL PROVINCES.

Secretariat Library, Nagpur.

Museum Library, Nagpur.

ASSAM.

Secretariat Library, Shillong.

COORG.

The Chief Commissioner of Coorg's Library, Bangalore.

NATIVE STATES.

Hyderabad.

The Resident's Library, Hyderabad.

Central India.

Library of the Agent to the Governor-General, Indore.

The Librarian, Dhar Museum Library, Dhar.

Rajkumar College, Indore.

Rajputana.

Library of the Chief Commissioner and Agent to the Governor-General, Ajme

College Library, Ajmer.

Baroda.

Library of the Resident at Baroda.